MANKIND

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MANKIND

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF AUSTRALIA

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES :

Melanesia : Social Anthropology. **Guiart.**

Native Society in the New Hebrides : The Big Nambas of Northern Malekula. *By Jean Guiart, Lic. ès. Letts., Ethnologist, Institut Français d'Oceania.*

Before I talk to you about the social organization of Northern Malekula,[1] I would like to pay a tribute to the memory of Arthur Bernard Deacon who, twenty-five years ago, was my predecessor in these parts of the New Hebrides. He died in his prime at the close of his stay and his death was a loss to Anthropology. I have special reasons for speaking thus, as I have recently had the opportunity of going through the same parts as Deacon and working with his old informant, Amarantus, in South West Bay. It was very moving for me to realize that, after such a long time, it was possible to verify Deacon's data and, on the more important points, to get identical information, sometimes with a few more details. As I went through South West Bay, I found that his tomb was still only earth-covered and I had a modest cement monument erected with the necessary explanations engraved thereon.

As a matter of fact, Deacon barely stayed a few days in the northern part of Malekula. The data published in his book does not concern the Big Nambas precisely, but a smaller group to the north, intermediary between them and the greater part of the surrounding small Nambas. The description I am about to present will, almost entirely, include new facts about these people.

We must first get an idea of the geography of the district. The northern part of Malekula is an independent peninsula mostly mountainous, attached to the southern part of the island by lowlands barely five miles in width. The south-western part of the peninsula is a coral tableland, falling into the sea via a steep cliff, through which rivers have dug real canyons. This tableland is the country of the Big Nambas, so called because of the bulging penis sheath which is almost their only garment. The Small Nambas, whose sheath is comparatively unobtrusive, inhabit the mountainous country in the north and on the coast.

This difference in garb does not mean that the two populations present essentially different social characteristics. It could be said that the Big Nambas group is at the centre of a constellation. Most of the traits of their social structure are found among the Small Nambas, but often in a more autonomous, less integrated way. Comparatively, the loss of population has been more severe in the hills. The traditional ritual ties between the groups

N.B.—Native terms in brackets are from the transcription of the International Association of Phonetics.

[1] This article formed the basis of a lecture delivered before the Anthropological Society of N.S.W. Cf. Guiart, Jean, " L'organisation sociale et politique du Nord Malekula." *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, T.VIII, n° 8, pp. 149-259, ill. Paris, December 1952.

are almost entirely broken and, tired of their isolation after a long resistance, the last heathen communities are now ready to settle by the sea and become Christian converts. In this study we shall dwell mostly on Big Nambas sociology. I would like to impress upon you that, although acculturation is rife, I am not going to describe any dead structure, but something I could see working with my own eyes.

With regard to their economic life, I shall not try and describe their agricultural techniques, which many of you know of already by experience. Ways of growing yams are very similar all over Melanesia. Taro is scarce and bananas mostly provide the second staple food to which one must add maize in valuable quantities. The one thing to insist upon is the specialized rearing of pigs, so as to obtain a hierarchy of beasts, ranging from ordinary boars to crescent-toothed or circled-toothed beasts of high value. Deacon and Layard have already described the possibilities of this trade, these pigs being considered as if they were money. Not only can they be sold or lent, always bearing an interest realized at the termination of the debt, but they are made use of to buy things of particular importance, or pay for the acquisition of new prerogatives.

Parental organization is I think one of the most difficult things to explain orally. I will just try and describe its principal characteristics. An unusual feature of it, at least in southern Melanesia, is the little importance given to the maternal uncle. Girls marry when they are very young and long before puberty are sent afar to be brought up by the mother of their future husband. This may be one of the reasons for the great emphasis laid on relations with the family-in-law. The greatest respect must be shown to the wife's mother and father. A man cannot sit close by or speak to them without having been invited to do so. He should be very friendly with his wife's brothers, an attitude which can mean at least personal neutrality in time of war. This relation can only be broken if the marriage fails and the wife returns to her family with the consent of her people. On the whole, this consent is rarely given and mostly in cases where one of her brothers receives from her husband's people a woman who bears him children. In the case of the husband's death, the custom of levirate prevails and the woman is taken by the dead man's brother, after a token gift of a pig to her eldest son.

Much more elaborate and peculiar are the relations between two alternate generations, at least so far as a young boy is concerned, the girl leaving the family too soon for great care to be given her. The boys, in the beginning of their teens, are sent to their paternal grandfather, with whom they live for some years, working for him in the daytime, in his gardens, and at night sleeping with him in the *namèl* [*namɛl*], the men's club house. This homosexual relation between the two is carried on until the young man is old enough to marry and be given a bark belt to wear ; until then he fixes the end of his penis sheath to a narrow plaited pandanus belt. I must say that technically the grandfather and his grandson are not homosexuals in the true European sense, of which the natives know. It would be better to say they masturbate one another.

The relationship between a young man and his paternal grandmother is almost of the same order. She attends to his sexual education, serves him as a go-between for his intrigues or even sleeps at times with him until he has married or found a younger partner.

The relationship between father and son appears quite normal from our standpoint. It is not the same between mother and son. A mother has to act towards her son in the same way as she would in front of a chief and, in addressing him, uses the same formal vocabulary. She cannot stand, when near him, or touch his head.

The brother-sister avoidance is very slight. They can talk to each other normally and eat food which one of them has prepared. Only joking is prohibited. In any case, they would not see much of each other except in their very early years.

The joking relationship, from the standpoint of a boy, is restricted to the father's sister, any grandmother, and the wife's sister.

Marriage is usually effected by exchanging sisters on either side. Actually the importance of this exchange outvalues the customary formal gifts of pigs to be given and I know of cases between groups distant from one another where the procedure was restricted to this very simple exchange of girls. The formal gift proceedings will then start once children are born, the maternal uncle coming to see his nephew when the child has started walking. The father will repay the visit sometime later with his son, bringing a greater number of presents than was received in the last occasion from the uncle.

Although I realize the sketchiness of this description of parental organization, I shall endeavour to describe now the higher units of social structure. After some wandering through the bush villages, one gets to understand their topography and this gives the clue. One could literally get lost in the maze of small enclosures surrounded by plaited wild cane fences, in which the individual houses are. Carefully screened from the women's gaze, there is always a central place, on the sides of which are the *namèl* [*namɛl*] or clan houses. I won't use the term lodge to describe these premises, as the right to enter them is open to any male of the group as his birthright.

There the men can meet, as they could not do in the vicinity of their own home. A village is composed of a number of clustered hamlets, none of which corresponds to any formal group. Curiously enough the different families which comprise a clan group are dispersed among the hamlets. The reason for it is given by the pattern of conduct implied by the parental system : I can live at close quarters with my grandfather, but not with my father, as my wife mustn't meet him ; in the same way I cannot live in the same hamlet as my elder brother (the true one) as I am not to meet his wife. As a result men of too close parentage do not live with each other unless they be separated by a high fence without any opening. This is the reason why one will find that parts of the same hamlet, although adjacent, do not communicate with one another. The *namèl* [*namɛl*] is the place where men of the same clan meet without restriction. Male children of any age can wander about and go inside without being hindered.

This *namèl* [*namɛl*] organization is the root of the social and political system. I must say here that my analysis is based upon an extensive demographic survey of the whole of the northern part of the island ; a survey made by clan, recording the names, myths and any belongings or ritual prerogatives which could be attached to a *namèl* [*namɛl*]. Upon this data I can indicate the elements which will materially define the existence of a clan :

a men's hut, called *namèl* [*namɛl*],
a specific name, which covers both the men's house and the social group,
a specific social status, linked with negative or positive ritual prerogatives,
a well-determined territory which clan members may cultivate on an individual or a family basis.

The clan's house is a lengthy structure of the quadrangular type, almost without walls, and covered with the prefabricated elements of pinned sago-palm leaves, which are of common use in Melanesia. The entrance is higher than elsewhere in Malekula, but as difficult to negotiate. At the edge of the top beam, and over the front part of the house is a sculptured piece of fern tree, representing a human face looking downwards, and for that reason very

difficult to photograph. At the end of each rafter is attached the inferior jaw of a tusked boar. These jaws and the sculpture are there for decorative purposes and bear no particular signification.

The clan name is more or less descriptive, relating to the origin of the clan, or to a feature of its topographical position or simply to its relative status inside the wider social structure. Here are a few examples :

namèl lil [*namɛl lil*] : the higher,
namèl awe [*namɛl awe*] : inferior,
namèl lemèxlëbo [*namɛl lemɛxlebo*] : rat's hole ; the men are as numerous in the clan as rats in a hole.
namèl èt [*namɛl ɛt*] : taboo, sacred,
namèl penawe (*namɛl penawe*] : road for the water,
namèl pa [*namɛl pa*] : small,
namèl nevèxmo [*namɛl nevɛxmo*] : in the shade of the *mò* tree.
namèl tërëvi [*namɛl tərəvi*] : runaway ; clan originating from the splitting of a former group.

These names appear to be in a certain measure functional. The chieftainship's clan will always have in any village a *namèl lil* [*namɛl lil*], there will always be a *namèl pa* [*namɛl pa*] considered as the inferior, and a *namèl èt* [*namɛl ɛt*] master of the yam fertility ritual. These names have very little mythical connotations. The mythological origin will relate to a village or to a chieftainship, but only indirectly or not at all to any particular clan. Some names can eventually change in the course of history.

There is, on the whole, something unsettled about this clan organization which one does not find in New Caledonia for instance. Clans will be vagabond and change their allegiance from one chieftainship to another, or without relinquishing their relationship to one chief, will move easily from one village to another. The important group of the Amox, with its seven villages under one chief, is in great part the result of such a reshuffling.

Another factor in this picture is the traditional possibility that a clan splits into two groups, one keeping the old name, the newer taking a new clan name but remaining ritually subordinated to its parent group. In some cases the splitting is not brought to its logical conclusion. The two groups exist side by side, each having its own men's house, but both retaining the same *namèl* [*namɛl*] name.

As regards land tenure, tilling is operated on a family basis, under the responsibility of the elder brother, unless individuals prefer working on their own piece of land, which they have leased or even bought. The concept of clan territory will only come to the fore in the case of a land dispute, which happens more often between families than between villages.

The real value of the clan concept is on a functional level. The clan is a ritual unit, represented in most cases by its headman, who often enough is the only one to benefit from the prerogatives which can be attached to a clan's status. This man's conduct is in itself an indication of the rank his clan holds in the social hierarchy of values.

At the top is the clan of the chiefs. We shall later say something of its status. What seems to be its essential characteristic is that only the chief has command of the ceremonies pertaining to the higher ranks of the hierarchy, elsewhere called Mange, Mangi, or Maki.

Most of the other clans can only attain, in the person of their headman (or some other man, if the latter is agreeable), not only the inferior ranks but an inferior rôle in the acquisition

of each grade. The rituals can only be organized to the chief's glory, even if, formally, other individuals boast of the same titles as him.

Some clans possess the very special prerogative of being the masters of the yam fertility rites. At the beginning of each year, there is a ceremonial period which they institute, watching for any infringement of the strictly enforced taboos against the presence in the village of anything of European origin : tobacco, tinned meat, leather belts, knifes and so forth. Their own taboos are much more strict and outlive for nearly a month the ordinary people's six days. In a sacred grove of their own they hold secretly the real fertility rite, of which only the very bare outlines are known. At the close of the six days period, the masters of the ritual, known as *pëla xòro* [*pəla xɔro*] or *pëla nal* [*pələ nəl*], come and tell the chiefs what they have seen to be the omens for the coming year. Then the chiefs tell the people. Apart from this duty, the clan's masters of ritual have authority, in their field, in villages giving allegiance to more than one chieftain. Sometimes such rival rites as *nal* [*nal*] and *xòro* [*xɔro*] have been carried afar with minor differences through the marriage relationships.

Quite apart is a group of clans, of which each chieftain has one. They are not exactly despised, although they play what we would think a very inferior rôle. Their vocation is that of human victims. The native term is *nëmbal'àn* [*nembaʌan*) or *temes mbal* [*temɛs mbal*] further north, which name refers equally to the spirit of a murdered man, roaming under the guise of a red light. At the close of a war, the chief of the vanquished party will send one of them to his victorious colleague. The man is to be killed, cut up and distributed among the victors and their friends in other villages. The keeping of the victim is normally considered as an acceptance of the peace offers. Tradition says that those clans would dwindle in numbers and disappear unless from time to time one of their members did suffer such a fate. Informants will point out the obsolescence of the custom as the reason for the extinction of these clans. This unhappy fate is not the only function of these " men belong kaikai." One could briefly state their double rôle in a Biblical phrase : he who cuts in the flesh of men will in his turn have his body cut up and divided. These *nëmbal' an* [*nəmbaʌan*] are theoretically the surgeons of circumcision. In practice, a few leaders only specialize in that technique. Closely related is the knowledge, restricted to them, of the art of cutting out and carving wooden gongs, an art which they will only practise for a chief's benefit.

Members of these clans fall under quite a number of restrictions. They cannot partake in any ceremonial food distribution. They cannot participate in any way in the grade-taking rituals. They can be assistants at meetings called in by chiefs, but cannot eat inside the chief's precincts. Be they in the presence of a man whose clan is of a different status, they must be careful lest they lift up their knives, which they must hold close to the ground. They can drink *kava* only in the last instance, after everyone else has drunk.

Their origin myth claims that they have sprung from a stick thrown from the southern sea shore by the Divinity *Xambat* [*xambat*]. This southern origin is the one claimed, in a similar condition, for the *kava*, the yams and some chieftainships.

At the other pole of society values is the chieftainship. It appears to be a very elaborate institution, which can best be described in terms of the pattern of conduct of a chieftain.

Even the members of his own clan must show the chief the respect his birth commands, in the way general among Oceanian people. At close quarters, one always stoops so as not to have one's head at a higher level than his. Often enough the chief will sit at elevated quarters or remain standing so as not to give too much inconvenience. Women, except

his own, must use towards him a special vocabulary. The chief's wives must not be seen by commoners. They proceed to their husband's gardens by sheltered routes of their own, with a child in front to see that crossings are free of any other presence. To be more sure, the frontal roll of their mat headdress is pulled down on their face. If a man was found in the yard where the chief's wives have their houses, he would be strangled on the spot unless he could immediately pay a heavy fine in pigs. A woman who comes and stays in these premises has to stay and cannot be reclaimed by her husband.

At any visit the chief must be offered *Kava*, the drinking ceremonial of which is very close to the one of Fiji. The chief will drink first. If he is visiting a *namèl* [*namɛ̀l*] in another village, the assistants will gently clap their hands as long as he keeps his head in the *kava* bowl; one of his classificatory grandfathers will have to drink after him before any one else can partake of the beverage. Assistants then drink one after the other according to rank as much as it is the case.

In everyday life a chief is not easily distinguishable except, perhaps, by a greater coquetry; although this characteristic is mostly apparent on ceremonial occasions.

I cannot substantiate Harrisson's contention that chiefs were submitted to a fattening process. Most of them are as bony as any other of their subjects. On feast days, the chief's finery will be better than anybody else's, but of the same order, except for a plaited pandanus belt, ornamented with red tufts, so long that a man must hold the extremity, as this belt must never be allowed to touch the ground.

Normally, everybody must work the chief's garden to the accompaniment of much singing and shouting, and the use of knives and axes is prohibited. Wood can only be burnt and broken, and no one may carry at that time any European implement.

The chief must receive the first fruits of the gardens, which are brought individually by the tiller of each plot. In times of drought, and crop failure, he will get very little, as only well-shaped tubers can be presented to him.

This work in the chief's gardens is the signal for each stage of the agricultural work. The masters of the fertility ritual have, however, in this respect, precedence over the chief. They will have initiated the work over a single yam, in a miniature garden in their sacred grove, but all on one day. It is the chief's responsibility to distribute the work in its different stages through the year. In the same way, the chief initiates the grade-taking ritual, and after it decides on what day he and his people will go and bathe in the sea.

The chief has the right to dispose of the life of his subjects and his is the decision for war, but he cannot participate in any fighting. For each ambushing expedition, a renowned warrior, known as *mangko* [*maŋgko*], will take the lead. Such a man could eventually come from a *nëmbal'n* [*nəmbaʎan*] clan.

Chiefs seem to be considered in a way as responsible for the group's welfare. People hate seeing their chief go away, and the most heinous offence of a recruiter is to bring back a dead chief and not compensate the clan for his death.

If one studies the origin myths of the different villages, it will be seen that the chief is usually spoken of as of different stock to the people, and as having always been on the island. Evidence points to an external origin of chieftainship, which is a very common factor in Melanesia.

The wording of these myths gives at the same time the clue to what is the principal function of chieftainship. The people had to have chiefs, who could initiate and take the responsibility of the grade rituals, the only means of ostentatious prestige-rivalry between

groups, thus the myth justifies too the fact that chieftainships cannot be considered each time as a unique phenomenon. They are always linked in pairs. A chief always has his ceremonial partner, without the presence of whom no ritual can be given. In northern Malekula, grade-taking ceremonies must in effect be considered each as a moment in a long-swerving line of customary payments and ceremonial exchanges, going from the seat of one chieftainship to another.

It is necessary at this stage to say a few words of the hierarchy of the Big Nambas district. It is so linked with the institution of chieftainship that it does not even possess a name as a whole. The term *mangi* [*maŋgi*] describes only a very specific part of the ritual and cannot be used in a general sense. The preparations for the ritual, dancing and ceremonial gifts of food, go on for weeks. It would be too long to describe here the complexity of the gifts and counter gifts, which are passed at both the collective and the individual level, more or less elaborated according to the case. The better part of the ritual is the fastening of pigs to each of the stones in a line which can count many hundreds, the killing, symbolic or real, of the beasts by the chief and his giving of the greatest number to his ceremonial partner. However, before that commoners stage a miniature ritual, each clan fastening the pigs he is about to give the chief to a row of posts, the headman, followed by some others, according to his wish, running in zigzag fashion between the posts, and slamming the first pig in the row on the head and calling his new title, the same one as the one the chief will take next day. This is what is termed *mangi* [*maŋgi*].

Except one grade, which only commoners take, this is the general theme of all grade-taking ceremonies, the essential feature of which is no more the title, which holds no special prerogatives but the ceremonial exchange of food pigs and of a whole ritual in a rivalry of prestige and ostentation.

Before concluding, it seems necessary to say something of the evolution of the culture contact situation. Villages being at the time rather far inland and the coast inhospitable, the people of the area did not suffer from early blackbirding. The Big Nambas only came on the working market when colonists formed plantations and settled the south-east of nearby Espiritu Santo. Abuses committed by local Europeans in the twenties and thirties in the acquisition of native labour are well known : abduction of women, sale of alcohol and arms, kidnapping of unwilling natives, underpayment of workers, non-fulfilment of oral promises, were usual things thought to be the necessity of the trade. I know of only one settler who was scrupulously honest in his dealings with his native labour. Although his rates of pay were not very high, he never was in want of workers. The killing of a recruiter, Mazoyer by name, for the abduction of three women off the Big Nambas coast, marked the culmination of this period and in practice the end of it. It can be said Santo was far from being the end of the world. There was both a British and a French delegation present and, on the whole, this period was less noxious than elsewhere. When administrative control became more efficient, and the natives wiser to the ways of collective bargaining, this hitherto revolting facet of recruiting disappeared rapidly.

The issue of Christianization was, on another level, just as disruptive. Families were not dismantled, but the whole social structure collapsed with the choice of Christianity, inasmuch as it was based almost entirely upon the furthering of a ritual tradition. Where the Mission took over, it had to rebuild the whole political organization, under the more or less remote control of the Condominium Government. In any case, it could not be done otherwise. Errors were inevitably made, the teacher striving to take the power and prestige

from the former heathen chief or dignitary. At the beginning of the present century the missionary efforts failed and on the eastern side of North Malekula the people died out before becoming Christians. It seems the lesson was learnt because the conversion of the north-western coast went on much more smoothly in the last years before 1939. The Big Nambas remained the difficult part, with the Presbyterians and the Seventh Day Adventists competing for their souls. It led at times to full-scale wars waged against Christian establishments, with the unfortunate teachers paying with their lives for the missionary zeal of their European masters. During the last five years the Administration has managed to restore peace in the area, and things have cooled down. The bush natives show a general and outspoken wish for bettering their material life, and seem to accept Christianization as the only possibility to further this aim. Some chiefs still resist, realizing more or less clearly what they will lose in authority and power. In my view the conversion of the last heathen group is only a matter of years, if not even of months.

J. GUIART.

Australia: Material Culture. **Tugby.**

Conic Range Rock Shelter: A Preliminary Account of Rock Paintings in North-east Victoria.

By Donald J. Tugby, B.Sc., Ethnologist, National Museum of Victoria.

Whilst boundary riding fifteen years ago in the Darbyshire area of N.E. Victoria, Mr. C. Webb of Tallangatta noticed a large, lighter-than-usual patch on a granite tor resting on a sloping, bush-covered hillside. He rode over to investigate and rediscovered the first known Australian Aboriginal rock painting in N.E. Victoria. The painting had been known to one or two people in the district for some 55 years, but it had not been realized that it was of Aboriginal origin.

The semi-mythic story of the existence of the painting reached the Hon. T. W. Mitchell, M.L.A., of Towong Hill, Corryong, who established its factual nature by visiting the site under the guidance of Mr. Webb. Mr. Mitchell reported the matter to the National Museum and then later, at the author's request, arranged for Mr. Webb to guide the author to the spot. The present preliminary report is a result of that visit.

The painting is on part of one side of a large square granite tor which forms a rock shelter. The shelter is situated on the N. side of a ridge rising to a little over 2,700 feet and known locally as the Conic Range. The range runs in a W.N.W. direction between Koetong Creek (also called Cooyatong or Running Creek) on the north and the Tallangatta-Koetong-Cudgewa road on the south. The shelter is 3½ miles almost due N. of Darbyshire.

The shelter is propitiously situated within about 600 feet of what is the top of the ridge at this point and within sight of a large rock atop the ridge which provides a lookout over the Koetong Valley. From the shelter itself a fine view across Koetong Creek to Mt. Lawson and up the Bungil valley can be obtained. From 200 metres E., when the shoulder of a ridge is passed, there is a good view up Koetong Creek. Water is available from a stream 200 metres in front of the shelter. Seventeen metres in front of the shelter is a tree from which bark has been removed in two places, one piece probably for a shield and the other of unknown usage. Several other large trees in the vicinity have been similarly treated.

Within 120 metres is a large rock shelter which provides no suitable unweathered surface for painting, but which could accommodate several families in relative comfort.

Further shelter is available among large rocks on the stream at a distance of 230 metres.

ROCK PAINTINGS, N.E. VICTORIA.

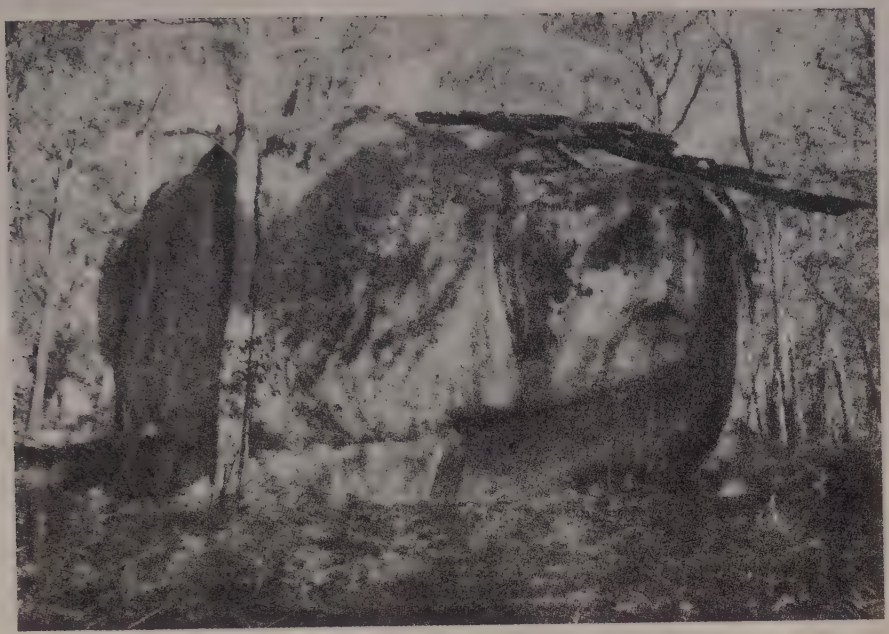

Fig. 1.—Conic Range Rock Shelter, N.W. Side. The large granite tor rests on a bush-covered hillside. The painting is on the sheltered area of rock to the lower right.

Fig. 2.—Conic Range Rock Shelter: painted area: front block in the foreground; tunnel to lower left. Note relatively unweathered nature of painted surface bounded by the grey border marking the limit of run-off water.

Fig. 3.—Conic Range Rock Shelter : representative types of figures ; see text. Ex.=exfoliation.
All figures are similarly reduced.

The tor is of pink orthoclase granite and provides effective shelter, as the author found by sleeping there on a stormy night. It is approximately 15 metres square and 10 metres high. The boulder has fallen in such a way as to provide shelter on W., S. and N.E. sides. The paintings face N.W. and are protected by a considerable overhang (see Plate X, Fig. 1).

Water running from the top of the rock never reaches the painted area, which is light buff in general colour and comparatively unweathered. A dry tunnel through which it is possible to crawl runs under the rock from N.W. to S.E. The average height of the tunnel is 90 centimetres. There is a good deal of loose, coarse sand, derived from the granite, lying under and around the shelter.

Under the painted face is a large boulder (called the front block) which may possibly have fallen from the shelter face but whose shape and weathering suggest that it arrived at its present position contemporaneously with the fall of the main block.

The painted area (see Plate X, Fig. 2) is from 200 to 250 centimetres high and 490 centimetres long. It is inclined at an angle of 30° to the vertical at the N. end and 40° at the S. end. It is generally non-corrugated, relatively flat, and curves slowly. There are 23 decipherable figures on it and several undecipherable ones.

The greatest vertical height of the top of any painting from present ground level is 262 centimetres. This is well beyond the average Australian Aborigine's arm reach. However, the artist could have painted the particular painting (Fig. 3, No. 4) by standing on the front block.

By standing on the front block it would be possible to paint the ceiling formed by the overhanging portion of the shelter, but this has not been attempted.

Some paintings are considerably less clear than others and at least two periods of painting seem likely. The best preserved painting is No. 8, which is in the innermost and most favourably sheltered position, but immediately below it are the faint marks of No. 9 (see Fig. 3).

Present run-off water is transgressing over the painted area to the right of No. 8, and along the N. side. It is possible that the paintings extended further N., but any traces are now obscured. The line around the painted area, which is the limit to which run-off water penetrates, forms a grey frame for the figures.

The colour used for the figures was probably, originally, a rather brighter brown-red, but has now faded and is, in the brightest case, a rather faint rusty-red brown.

Some exfoliation of the painted surface is taking place in layers approximately 8 millimetres thick. This may have been caused by the recent bush fires in this area but, if continued, will eventually completely destroy the painting.

Twenty-two of the twenty-three decipherable or near decipherable figures are of a quasi-human form. The other is an outright representation of an animal.

In general, the figures are of a similar type to those of the galleries of western N.S.W. One figure (No. 7) is a stick figure of very pure form. Two female figures are also of this type (Nos. 4 and 8). A number of other figures more or less approach this form, but grade to a less conventionalized and more naturalistic form, such as the large figure holding a spear (No. 23). In general, the stylized, conventional element is dominant.

There is little evidence of composition. Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 appear to form a series; Nos. 13 and 14 and Nos. 23 and 24 may also be associated.

Number seven clearly goes beyond conventional drawing of animal or man, and is a representation of both in the form of a spirit being. It remains a symbolic form representing a mental image, but has retained some naturalistic features such as appropriate positioning

of arms and legs. Particular symbolic importance no doubt attached to the kangaroo-like ears which are repeated on other figures.

Other figures, such as No. 24, retain more elements of perspective, while the nearest approach to realism is found in the animal drawing No. 14. Perspective is indicated in the latter by the positioning of arms, legs and tail, and by the spear in the bark. I am indebted to Mr. Webb for the suggestion that the stance of the figure suggests that it represents a wallaby rather than a kangaroo.

Number ten represents a sexual phantasy. The figure is that of a human with large projections from the head, upraised arms as though dancing, and a bifurcated penis. The latter may have been suggested by the form of the organ in the lizard or snake. This figure is repeated in Nos. 16 and 15, but the latter lacks the projections from the head.

In toto, the figures represent more than shelter decoration or a relatively idle artistic expression. Their mythic quality, their correlated features and the choice of the site, point to a connection with religious life. It seems not unlikely that they are connected with an evanescent cult during a late period of Aboriginal occupation of this area. They also show distinct features, e.g. in Nos. 7 and 8 which demonstrate that they are an essentially local development.

The colour of the brightest of the remaining figures is similar to that of the orthoclase in the granite which provides the painting surface, thus making the less clear paintings difficult to decipher. The lack of a source of red ochre in the area suggested that local materials might have been used. Since the colour of slightly weathered rock surface and painting was similar, a source of painting material in the granite itself was sought. A small excavation immediately below the painted surface yielded rotting granite at a depth of nine inches and below the original soil layer, present when the main block fell. The colour of the rotted material was almost identical with that of the painting. It lent itself to puddling and application with a stick and was most probably used as the painting medium.

This is the first Australian Aboriginal rock painting to be reported from N.E. Victoria. The figures range from stylized, quasi-human representations to a naturalistic animal form. The site is probably of religious significance and may have been associated with a local cult of late growth.

In this preliminary note examples of the main types of figures are provided. A complete reproduction is in the course of preparation and will be published shortly.

Fortunately, the site is relatively inaccessible and on Crown land. It is to be hoped that steps may be taken to preserve it before the somewhat ephemeral nature of the figures gives way before the wear and tear of vagabond curiosity.

DONALD J. TUGBY.

Australia: Social Anthropology. **Capell.**

Notes on the Njigina and Warwa Tribes, N.W. Australia. *By A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.* (*Continued from Vol. IV, No. 9.*)

The Njigina and Warwa languages belong to the group of prefixing languages characteristic of north Australia. They belong to the same group as the languages of Dampier Land.[20] The following notes are not in any technical sense a grammar of the languages, but only sufficient to make the Texts intelligible to the general reader.

[20] For linguistic groupings in North Australia, see A. Capell, "The Classification of Languages in North and North-West Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. X, Nos. 3 and 4. Also notes on Nyigina in H. Nekes, "The Pronoun in the Nyol-Nyol (Nyul-Nyul) and Related Dialects," *Oceania*, Vol. VIII, No. 2.

(*a*) *Pronunciation.*

The system of transcription employed here is the same as that used in the abovementioned article. The consonants are :

Plosives : *b, d, g,* " de-voiced " varieties, acoustically between English *b, d, g* and *p, t, k* respectively.

Fricatives : *j* (with the value of English *y*), *w*, approximately English value.

Palatals : *dj, lj, nj*, the first softer than English *j*, closer to Hungarian *gy* in *Magyar* ; *lj* is the Spanish *ll*, and *nj* the Spanish *ñ*.

Nasals : *m, n, ŋ*, of which the last is the *ng* in *sing* ; *ng* in *finger* is written *ŋg*, and there is also an *ng* in which each element is separate in the native language. Final *n* becomes practically interdental, a peculiar variety which does not call for closer definition in these notes.

Cerebrals : *ḍ, ṇ, ḷ, ṛ*, in which the tongue is turned back towards the roof of the mouth. The *ṛ* in this series is not trilled.

Rolled *r* is also heard, and an *l* that is lightly trilled.

The vowels may be taken for general purposes in their " continental " values ; closer descriptions, applicable to Njigina and Warwa also, will be found in the abovementioned article. The vowel *ä* is close to English *e* in *met*, and interchanges with *e* in Njigina. The vowel *ɔ* is between English *o* in *not* and French *o* in *note*.

(*b*) *Nouns and Descriptives.*

The two groups of words may be classed together in that they take as a rule the same series of suffixes. The following are some of the suffixes found :

(i) *Formative.*

1. *-bari :* indicates the possession of the object or quality mentioned : *djandobari*, having a wife, a married man ; *maṇḍi bari*, having fighting, engaged in fighting (adjectival use ; see Text Ia, 24).
2. *-gura :* indicates an implement : *dalaugura*, iron axe, from *dalau ŋan*, I cut.
3. *-ŋoro :* a personal agent : *djälŋga*, magic power > *djälŋgaŋoro*, wielder of magic, sorcerer.

The noun *buřu*, a camp, place, is used also in the sense of " time " : War. *bedau buřu*, " after time," " bye and bye."

(ii) *Grammatical.* These suffixes perform the duties of case relationships in inflecting languages.

1. *-ni :* agentive, added to the subject of a transitive verb. An intransitive verb does not require such a suffix : *wa:mba indjälgun*, the man falls ; *wa:mbani indindjanu*, the man said to me.
2. *-n :* locative, sometimes of motion to a place : *buřu*, a camp : *buřan iŋan*, he is in the camp ; *řuřan imana*, he went to the river.
3. *-dji :* possessive : (War.) *bilwil dji mai*, white man's food.
4. *-ŋana :* movement towards something or someone : *Wangur jirga malbulu ŋana :* carry them to the boat ; (War.) *ŋadjanu ŋana buřu walandi djilamana :* take the gun to my house.

5. *-ŋan(j) :* instrumental : *nawulu ŋanj mog indin :* he hit him with a waddy ; (War.) *gadawuru ŋanj ŋana:warin :* I threw a waddy at him, lit., threw-him with a waddy.

6. *-(g)abu :* movement from : *ginjäbu*, from there, thence, thereafter, from the pronoun *ginja*, he, she, it ; *njindaŋara welabu*, come away from the water.

7. *-junu*, movement from : *wali ian wa:mba junu*, bird he-was man from, i.e. from being a man he became a bird (Text III, 8) ; *bana-ra-junu*, how long, from *bana*, when ?

8. *-ra*, a rare suffix, generally locative : *ŋura-ra*, at home ; in War. also of movement: *ba:lu-ra ŋandjälen*, tree-from I fell alongside *wari maŋulu-ra ŋandjelen*, kangaroo grass-in I saw.

Prefixes to Nouns. Some of the Dampier Land languages prefix possessive particles to names of bodily organs and limbs. This is done also in Warwa, but in Njigina only the prefix of the third person singular, *-ni-*, is found in a petrified form with some words, e.g. *ni-miḍi*, leg ; *ni-mala*, arm. In Warwa one still says *ŋa-mala*, my arm, *nij-mala*, your arm, and so on, but in Njigina *ŋadjanu nimala*, my arm, etc. In Warwa I have one example of a possessive suffix : *malo gwijäina*, she is not her mother (i.e. mother of that girl, from *gwi:ja*, mother).

There is a suffix in each language to indicate the plural : *-nil*, thus : *wa:mba*, man > *wa:mbanil*, men, people. The use of this involves more or less emphasis on the fact of plurality, which is often indicated simply in the form of the verb.

Descriptive words may precede or follow the noun on which they depend : *wa:mba mabo*, man good, or *mabo wa:mba*, good man ; (War.) *wela binga*, water that, and in both languages *nja wela*, this water. Warwa has an important suffix to descriptive words that is lacking in Njigina, viz. *-djäri*. This is not exactly an adjectival ending, though it does serve to point out and describe a given noun. *bindäŋun ŋaŕan*, I am sick ; *wir iŋaran ginjai bindaŋundjäri*, afraid he-is that sick-one. In the War. funeral text given above, it is added to a compound verb in a relative sense : *gandirin ŋana wa:ra guḍ ŋindan-djäri :* platform to carry dead he-went-who, i.e. take the dead person to the tree-platform. It is very likely that this is a borrowing from the Northern Kimberley languages, all of which have a suffix *-ŋari*, used similarly, and the form is also found in the Dampier Land languages except Ba:ḍ. See note by Dr. Nekes (*op. cit.* pp. 158-9), where the form is classed as a relative pronoun.

Another important suffix is *-djüno, -djina*. The mixed vowel in this is not a normal part of the language, but the result of assimilation through the lip and tongue positions of the preceding consonant. Radically, it is the possessive suffix and indirect object suffix of the third person pronoun, but added to a descriptive word has the force of a more or less emphatic particle, independent of person : *mabodjüno djümbarara ŋanandi*, I shall get a (really) good knife ; *mabodjüno wali ŋani, djiŋgidi njiŋani*, keep yourself clean while you are playing ; *imana mabodjüno waŋani*, he went and cleaned himself up. The suffix is also used with verbs to show a type of passive.

Two other suffixes should be mentioned, (1) *djago*, indicating belonging to, e.g. *galbu-djago*, belonging to the sky, i.e. an eaglehawk, and (2) *-ŋal*, indicating frequency : *gudjara-ŋal*, twice, from *gudjara*, two ; *mandja-ŋal*, often, from *mandja*, many, plenty.

(*c*) *Pronouns.*

The following table will show the various forms of pronouns in the two languages. Njigina is indicated by N. and Warwa by W.

1. *Cardinal Pronouns.*

	Subject.	Prefix.	Object I.	Object II.	Possessive.
Sing. 1	*ŋaio* (N.W.)	*ŋa-* (W.)	*-nu, -ŋaio* (N.W.)	*-djanu* (N.W.)	*ŋadjanu* (N.W.)
2	*djowa* (N.W.)	*nji-* (W.)	*-jo, djowa* (N.W.)	*-djia* (N.), *-dju* (W.)	*djia* (N.W.)
3	*ginja* (N.W.)	*ni-* (N.W.)	*-ṇa* (N.W.)	*-djina* (N.W.)	*gindjina* (N.W.)
Dual 1 incl. ..	*jau* (N.W.)		*-jau* (N.W.)	*-djau* (N.W.)	*djaugoro* (N.W.)
Plur. 1 incl. ..	*jardju* (N.)	—	*-ida* (N.)	*-djaida* (N.)	*djaida* (N.)
	jaru, jaḍed (W.)	*jar-* (W.)	*-ira* (W.)	*-djaḍer* (W.)	*djaḍer* (W.)
1 excl. ..	*jarga* (N.)	—	*-jarga* (N.)	*-djara* (N.W.)	*djara* (N.W.)
	jarin (W.)	*jar-* (W.)	*-jara* (W.)		
2	*gurga* (N.)	—	*-gurga* (N.)	*-djuŋgara* (N.W.) ?	*djuŋgara* (N.W.)
	gura (W.)	*gur-* (W.)	*-gura* (W.)		
3	*jirga* (N.)	—	*-ra* (N.W.)	*-djira* (N.W.)	*idjira* (N.W.)
	njinila (W.)	*jir-* (W.)			

The words in column 1 serve as emphatic subjects of sentences ; if the verb is transitive they assume the agentive suffix *-ni* as already mentioned above. There is in Warwa a second series of emphatic pronouns, ending in *-nma :*

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1 incl. ..	—	*jauanma*	*jaḍedma*
1 excl. ..	*ŋaiinma*	—	*jarinma*
2	*djowanma*	—	*goranma*
3	*ginjanma*	—	*njinilma*

The absence of a full set of dual pronouns will be noticed : this is shared with the Dampier Land languages. For duals other than the first person inclusive, a suffix is added to the plural pronoun, Nj. *-miri*, W. *-bili, -wili*, the former only after a root ending in *-n*. See table on page 454.

	1st excl.	2	3
Njigina ..	*jargamiri*	*gurgamiri*	*jirgamiri*
Warwa ..	*järinbili*	*gorwawili*	*jirawili*

The possessive prefixes, as noted, are used only in Warwa. Of the object suffixes, the first column is the direct object, the second more usually the indirect, and is really a combination of the first column with the possessive suffix *-dji* already listed. Thus W. *bulan-[illegible]ader wa:la*, the sun shines-on-us ; Nj. *malina-djaida*, we have none (lit. nothing-to-us). Fuller space would allow of fuller examples, but some will be seen in the texts.

The possessives tend to follow the noun possessed, and as in Dampier Land, the noun may be preceded by the corresponding cardinal pronoun : *ŋaio i:bala ŋadjanu*, " my father."

The demonstrative series was not obtained in full, but the following table is sufficient guide. Alongside the descriptive demonstratives, which may have either adjectival or pronominal use, there are series indicating place, e.g. *nja:n*, " here," direction, *njunu*, " this way " and manner, *njinda*, " like this." In the table are included also the indefinite *waŕan*, " one," " another " ; the interrogative " which ? " (adjectival), (1) and " who " or " what " (2), and the time-word *bana*, " when." The numbers after the demonstratives show degrees of remoteness from the speaker.

	Descriptive.	Locative.	Directive.	Manner.
Demonstr. 1 ..	*nja* (N.W.)	*nja:n* (N.W.) *njunara* (W.)	*njunu* (N.W.)	*njinda* (N.W.)
2 ..	*njäḍu* (N.) *njinga*(W.)	*njaḍan* (N.) *njingan* (W.)	*njäḍunu* (N)	*njända* (N.) ?
3 ..	*gamiri* (N.) *gamira* (W.)	*gamirin* (N.W.)		
4 ..	*gaḍu* (N.)	*gaḍin* (N.) *ginjan* (W.)	*gaḍunu*	
5 ..	*gan* (N.W.)	*gangan* (N.) *ganjan* (W.)	*gunu* (N.) *gunju* (W.)	*gandjiŋge* (N.)
Indefinite ..	*waŕan*	*waŕanga*		
Interrogative 1	*djana* (N.W.)	*djanan* (N.)	*djanamari* (N.W.)	*djaniŋge* (N.) *djanara* (N.W.)
2	*jäŋgi*			*jäŋgändji*
Time	*bana*	*banan*		

There are other less clear derivative forms, such as the following : W. *ga:lu*, " forwards," *djanaruŋgai*, " how " (*djanaruŋgai binga ŋirawululman* ?, How do you make that ?), *jäŋga-walandji*, " why ? ", *banarajunu*, " how long ? ", " from when ? ", *djanaijunu*, " whence ? " Warwa also has *binga*=that, and a plural, *ganila*, for *gan*. as well as *binila* and *njinila*, plurals, often used as cardinal pronouns. Njigina has a corresponding *nja-nil*.

(*d*) *The Verb.*[21]

The verbal roots may be monosyllabic, disyllabic or longer. They are in all cases conjugated by prefixes, with modal suffixes. Some verbs are simple, some compounded of a root that is invariable, with one of a number of auxiliaries. There is only one voice, though certain types of passive can be rendered by a device to be mentioned later. The verbal noun can occasionally be used with no auxiliary at all, e.g. *nila ŋaioni*, I know it or him ; contrast *nila ŋamini-na*, I show him, lit. I give him knowledge. Among " simple " verbs are, for instance, W. *ŋandjelen*, I see, W., N. *ŋambulan*, I come, *ŋaligaren*, I hear. Among compound verbs are N. *burb ŋan*, W. *burb ŋaʼan*, I dance ; N.W. *djau ŋan*, I swim. In all these cases the final *-n* is a tense-ending ; the stem is found by removing this final and also the prefix of person, e.g. *-bula-*, to come. Examples of monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic verbal roots are shown in the following Njigina list :

Monosyllabic Roots.

-a-, to make, do.	*-i-*, to be, stay.
-ma-, to go, take.	*-ŋa-*, to stay, put.
-li-, to eat.	*-mi-*, to give.
-ba-, to see.	*-ga-*, to hit.

Disyllabic Roots.

-djälgi-, to fall.	*-bula-*, to come.
-miḍa, to send.	*-bandji-*, reflexive root.
-djuba-, to ask.	*-buga-*, to get, have.

Trisyllabic Roots.

-djäŋguli-, to break.	*-ŋuliga-*, to await.
-gulalmi-, to make.	*-ligara-*, to hear.

There is no general formal distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs, but there is a difference of person prefixes in the future tense, and there is an ending *-ŋan* (see under suffixes to nouns) which makes a verb into a transitive of instrument, e.g. *-bula-*, to come : *ŋambulanŋan djümbarara*, I come with or bring a knife.

The tense scheme is not intricate. Tense is indicated partly by change of the person-prefixes, partly by ending. Warwa has departed considerably from the scheme of prefixes common to Njigina and the Dampier Land languages. In the Njigina dialect, the following suffixes are found :

Tense :

-na : present or past. The past *-na* is frequently abbreviated to *-n*. Perhaps " aorist " will cover both.

-nda : continued action, e.g. *imanda*, he keeps going.

-ndja : complete action : *imandja*, he has gone ; *ḍaḍal imandja*, he is sick (stative suffix).

-ra : continuative : *iga ŋaraŋara*, I am sick.

Modal :

-ri, irrealis suffix, can be combined with *na*.

[21] Compare tables of conjugation given by Fr. E. Worms, *Oceania*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 127-8 for *Njigina*.

The following table will serve to summarize the conjugation, the person and certain other modifications being shown by prefix.

Meaning.	Prefix.	Root (Example).	Suffixes.
I. Indicative present and past.	Sing. 1 .. *ŋan-* 2 .. *min* 3 .. *in-* Dual 1 incl. *jaŋan-* Plur. 1 incl. *janar-* 1 excl. *jar-* 2 .. *gur-* 3 .. *jir-*	*-bula-* (come) *-ba-* (see)	*-na*, aorist *-nda*, continued *-ndja*, state. *-n(a)*, past
II. Futures and imperatives.	1. *Intransitive.* / 2. *Transitive.* Sing. 1 *ŋaŋa-* / *ŋana-* 2 *(nji)ŋa-* / *wala-* 3 *waŋa-* / *wana-* Dl. 1 in. *jaŋar-* / *jana-* Pl. 1 in. *janar-* / *janara-* Pl. 1 ex. *jaŋar-* / *jaŋa-* 2.. *war-* / *wara-* 3.. *waŋar-* / *waŋa-*	I. *-ba-* (see) II. *-bula-* (come)	*-ndja*, habit *-ri*, condition
III. Negatives (not past).	I. *Present.* / II. *Future.* Sing. 1 *ŋara-* / *ŋanara-* 2 *njira-* / *njinara-* 3 *wara-* / *wanara-* Dl. 1 in. *jara-* / *janara-* Pl. 1 in. *jara-* / *janara-* Pl. 1 ex. ? *jaŋara-* / ? *jaŋanara-* 2.. *guwara-* / *guwanara-* 3.. *wara-* / *wanara-*	I. *-bula-* (come) II. *-ba-* (see)	*-ra*, continued *-ri*, condition *-dja*, state
IV. Past Negatives.	Sing. 1 .. *ŋala* 2 .. *mila-* 3 .. *wala-* Dual 1 incl. *jala-* Plur. 1 incl. *jala-* 1 excl. *jalara-* 2 .. *gulara-* 3 .. *walara-*	I. *-bula-* (come) II. *-ba-* (see)	*-na*, past *-na-ri*, past condition, *positive.* *-ra*, continued.

A few examples of the working of this skeleton system may be given : *ŋan-ba-n*, I see ; *ŋan-ba-na*, I saw, show form I. Form II shows the distinction of transitive and intransitive : *ŋana-ba*, I shall see, as against *ŋaŋa-bula*, I shall come. In the imperative the *nji-* is omitted : *ŋa-ma*, go !, *ŋa-bula*, come ! *Budju ŋana-ba-ri*, if I see ; *margi wanamandja*, he will always be careful (habit) ; *waŋa-dajo*, they will spear you (*jo-*, suffixed object). Form III, as a negative, is preceded by *malo*, not : *malo i:ga ŋaraŋara*, I am not sick (*-ra* continuative) ; *malo ŋanarili*, I will not eat. The connective vowel after the *-r* is largely determined by vowel-harmony ideas. *Budju ŋanariliari*, *i:ga ŋanari*, were I to eat it, I should be sick (*-a-*, neuter suffix third sing., *-ri*, conditional) ; *malo wididj ŋanaridja*, I have not dug. Form IV : *ŋala-ma-nari*, had I gone ; *ŋalinaina*, I would have told him ; *malo ŋalana*, I did not take it. In the negative imperative second sing. the prefix is *mina-* : *malo mina-lamba*, don't grasp it ; *malo mina-ŋuli-ga-nu*, don't wait for me (*-nu*, me). In interesting use of III is seen in *malo minalamba nja djümbarara, djub njirabandji*, " don't grasp that knife, lest you cut yourself." This *-bandji-* is the reflexive auxiliary already mentioned, and seen further in *labor ŋaŋabandji*, I shall scratch myself ; *gandir jirbandjin*, they look at each other, where the usage is reciprocal also. If the verb is not compounded with an auxiliary, then the reflexive is formed by throwing it into the intransitive form : *ŋanadjodor djogor*, I shall dry the baby > *ŋaŋadjogor*, I shall dry myself.

1. *Intransitive Verbs.*

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Present—			
1 incl. ..	—	*ŋar-, ŋar-*	*jar-*
1 excl. ..	*ga-*		*jar-*
2	*ŋa-*		*war-*
3	*go-*		*gor-*
Past—			
1 incl. ..		*ŋar-*	*jar-*
1 excl. ..	*ŋan-*		*jar-*
2	*min-*		*gor-*
3	*ŋin-, n-*		*ŋir-*
Future—			
1 incl. ..		*jaŋ-*	*jar-*
1 excl. ..	*ŋaŋa-*		*jar-*
2	*ŋa-*		*war-*
3	*wana-*		*gor-*
Negatives—			
1 incl. ..		?	*jalar-*
1 excl. ..	*ŋala-*		*jalar-*
2	*mila-*		*golar-*
3	*wila-*		*wilar-, wor-*

2. Transitive Verbs.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Present—			
1 incl. ..		*jaŋa-*	*jari-*
1 excl. ..	*galaŋga-*		*jara-*
2	*walaŋga-*		*wara-*
3	*muŋga-*		*gora-*
Past—			
1 incl. ..		*jana-*	*jarani-*
1 excl. ..	*ŋana-*		*jarani-*
2	*mina-*		*gorani-*
3	*na-*		*ŋirani-*
Future—			
1 incl. ..		*jaŋa-*	*jari-*
1 excl. ..	*ganaŋga-, ga-*		*janaŋa-*
2	*wala-, nji-*		*wari-*
3	*nuŋga-, na-*		*ŋiri-*
Negatives—			
1 incl. ..		*jaŋar-*	*jalar-*
1 excl. ..	*ŋal(a)-*		*jar-*
2	*mil(a)-*		*golar-*
3	*wil(a)-*		*wilar-, golar-*

There is a purpose form which is expressed by suffixing *-dji*, the suffix of the possessive in nouns (see above) : *gurag indin guḍi-dji*, he has gone to escape. It can also show consequence : *winda ŋaian guḍi-dji djiril*, I am out of breath as a result of running hard. There are further points of interest that could be developed in a fuller grammar of the languages.

Warwa Verbs.

The Warwa verb calls for separate treatment, even in a limited space, because of its extraordinary forms. It apparently agreed very well originally with the Njigina and Dampier Land forms, but some element has come in, probably again from the Northern Kimberley languages, which has thrown it out of order in two ways : (1) the wrong meanings have become attached to person prefixes, e.g. *ŋ-* is used in the third person singular and plural as well as in the first singular, (2) a totally new type of transitive conjugation has been developed, though the general outline of tenses and moods remains as in Njigina. At the same time the distinction of transitive and intransitive has been carried through all tenses, and less use is made of suffixes than in Njigina. The frequent third singular in *n-* is an abbreviation for *in-*. The skeleton of Warwa conjugation is therefore as follows, keeping to the three " simple " tenses, present, past and future, and the negative with *malo*.

Both languages employ a series of auxiliaries to turn into verbs words of other types, e.g. Njigina *wodidj ŋan*, I dig ; *nila ŋanamina*, I will show him. Many examples of such compounds will be seen in the Texts in this paper ; the following table shows the chief of them in the form of the first person singular present.

Verbal Auxiliaries.

Njigina.	Warwa.	Root Meaning.	Extended Use.
ŋan (for *ŋani*).	*ŋaŋganj.*	I do, I say.	Action on a given object.
ŋian.	*ŋaŕan.*	I am.	State indicated by the root.
ŋanman.	*ŋanman.*	I take or put.	Assumption of a state.
ŋangan.	*ŋanaŋgan.*	I hit.	Forcible action.
ŋaŋan.	*ŋaŋan.*	I stay, put.	Rest in a given state.
ŋanilgan.	*ŋanaŋgaweran.*	I follow.	Action with another person ?
ŋamin.	*ganaŋgama.*	I give.	Transference of quality or state.

The next table will give an example of each of these auxiliaries in each language.

Njigina.	Warwa.	English.
wodidj ŋan.	*wodidj ŋaŋganj.*	I dig (ground).
i:ga ŋian.	*bindaŋuna ŋaŕan.*	I am sick.
lian ŋanman.	*lian ŋanman.*	I like (lit. put to stomach, i.e. inside).
giḍar ŋangan.	*giḍar ŋanaŋgan.*	I pull.
gulin ŋaŋan.	(*gulin ŋaŋaiälu*).	I sleep.
garba ŋanilgan.	(*garba ŋanman*).	I help one to look for a thing.
nila ŋamin.	*nila ganaŋgaman.*	I show him something.

The formation of the reflexive and reciprocal has been mentioned already, involving the substitution of the auxiliary root *-bandji-* for another active auxiliary. There is no true passive, except in the third person singular. Njigina examples will show the form of the passive in this instance :

Active.	Passive.	Meaning of Passive.
ŋanan, I spear something.	*manin djüno.*	He has been speared.
(*djinal*, a spear).	*malo djinal djüno.*	It was not killed with a spear.

Apart from this, an impersonal third plural must be used : *njiŋamari gunu, waŋarilga djowa :* don't go there, you will be followed, lit. they will follow you. The first example above has a prefix *ma-* which is occasionally used to form a type of verbal noun. It is commoner in the Dampier Land languages, as Dr. Nekes' article shows.[22] There is also a particle

[22] H. Nekes, " The Pronoun in Nyol-Nyol and Related Dialects, Studies in Australian Linguistics," *Oceania Monograph*, No. 3, p. 151.

gaia, which is sometimes placed between the verbal root and the auxiliary. For examples of this in related languages, see *Oceania Monograph*, No. 3, p. 170.

This rather bare outline of grammar will be sufficient for the interpretation of the following Texts until such times as the publication of a fuller study becomes possible.

The vocabulary of these languages shows a good deal of general agreement with those of Dampier Land, but there are also agreements with the Garadjeri group south and west of the Njigina. Still more noticeable is the amount of loan material from the Northern Kimberley languages. Grammatical and sociological loans have already been noticed. The following agreements—presumably loans—are chosen from a vocabulary of about 800 words. Non-cognates in either Njigina or Warwa are placed within brackets, and the cognate printed without brackets.

Njigina.	Warwa.	English.	Northern Kimberley Root.
aŋgari.	*aŋgari.*	woolly butt tree.	Ungr. *aŋgarun.*
(*mabodjüno*).	*babindji.*	clever fellow.	N.K. *ba:bin*, avenger.
bal in.	*bal in.*	(bird) flies.	Ungr. *bal e*, it beats the air.
balmandjara.	*balmandjara.*	fork in road or river.	Ungr. *balmandara.*
ba:ṇ.	*ba:ṇ.*	scorpion.	N.K. *ba:ṇ.*
(*ŋunde*).	*baṙa.*	perhaps.	Ungr. *baṙa*, bye and bye.
barulu.	*barwulu.*	catfish.	N.K. *barulu.*
	breima.	to wrestle.	N.K. *beroi.*
bildji.	(*wirelgun*).	red ochre.	Gwi:ni *bildji.*
bo: ŋan.	*bo: ŋaŋgan.*	I blow.	Ungr. *bo: ŋama.*
budju ŋanman.	*budju ŋanman.*	I finish.	Ungr, *budju ŋama.*
bura ŋan.	*galdji ŋanaŋgan.*	I rub.	Gwi:ni *budbud ŋaram* / also Ungr. *galdji*, white paint.
buṙul ?	*buṙul.*	tawny frogmouth.	N.K. *bo:ro:.*
däba ŋanman.	*däba ŋanman.*	I wax a spear.	Ungr. *dabadaba ŋe.*
däldje ŋan.	*daldje ŋaŋgan.*	I rear (a child).	N.K. root *däldje*, " grow up."
(*daljar*).	*baljarbaljar.*	smooth.	Ungr. *baljarbaljar*, slippery.
(*däriel*).	*deramala.*	black cockatoo.	Ungr. *deramala.*
dilaidj ingandjada.		they argue.	Ungr. *djilaidḷ'aŋo:n*, I argue with him.
dumud.	*dumud.*	breastbone.	Ungr. *dumud*: Gwi:ni do.
djägara.	*djägara.*	hair of head.	N.K. *djägara(n).*
(*djalu ŋanmin*).	*we: ŋanaŋgan.*	I stop him.	cf. Ungr. *we: ŋa:wan*, I lie down, rest.
	djäraraŋaṛan.	I talk, speechify.	Ungr. *djerag ŋama*, cf. Djerag and Djäru languages.
djärbad ŋan.	*djärwad ŋaŋgan.*	I raise.	N.K. *djerward*, lifting.
djadjagura, adze.	*djardjar ganaŋgan.*	I adze.	Ungr. *djadjag*, a planing instrument.

Njigina.	Warwa.	English.	Northern Kimberley Root.
	djeraŋgad.	boomerang.	Ungr. *djeraŋgad* } Probably borrowed
djilba.		boomerang.	Ungr. *djilba* } from south.
djibilju.	*djibilju.*	whistling duck.	N.K. do. (widespread word).
djiliwa.	*djiliwa.*	kangaroo sinew.	N.K. *djilwai.* Djaru *djuluwa.*
djinal.	*djinal.*	stone spear.	N.K. *djinal(e)*; the head, *djimbila*, also common word.
djiril.	*djiril.*	strong, hard.	N.K. *djiril*, forcibly.
djuba ŋangan.	*djuba ganaŋgan.*	I spit.	Gwi-ni *dubaid' ŋaram.*
djuluŋ ŋan.		I kneel.	Gwi:ni *diluŋguluŋ ŋaram.*
djuwi.	*djuwi.*	bower bird.	N.K. *djuwi.*
gamba.	*gamba.*	crab's claw.	Ungr. do.
gambi.	*gambi.*	egg.	Ungr. do.
gandiri.	*gandiri.*	grave platform.	N.K. do.
galgaṙuṙ.	*ganbur.*	kookaburra.	Ungr. *galmbud.*
garbina.	*garbina.*	shield.	Unggumi *garwina*, Wunambal *garina* and East Kimberley also
gargadja.	*gargadja.*	chickenhawk.	N.K. *argad*, and common elsewhere, also N. Terr.
garimba.	*garimba.*	bandicoot.	Ungr. do.
gau ŋan.	(*ŋangauin*).	I call.	N.K. *ge:*, e.g. Ungr. E. *ge: ŋama.*
gilili.		shoulder blade.	Ungr. do.
giliwal.	*giliwal.*	bamboo.	Ungr. *guläl*, Unggumi *gulälinga.*
gunandji.	*gunandji.*	porcupine.	Ungr. do.
go:ga.	*go:ga.*	message.	Ungr. *go:a.*
guḍanj.	*guḍe.*	having, with.	N.K. *gude.*
gulin.	*gul(in).*	lying down.	See in this paper *re* " be born."
gumbari.	*gumbari.*	yellow.	Ungr. *gumbaru.*
	guraba.	species fruit.	Ungr. do.
guraga.	*guranda.*	brolga.	N.K. *guraga, guraŋgula.*
guro:dada.	*guro:dada.*	magpie.	Ungr. do.
jowan.	*jaman.*	north.	N.K. *ja:we*, upstream.
juṇ.	*juṇ.*	forwards.	N.K. *juŋgun.*
la:lan.	*la:lan.*	the dream-time.	N.K. *la:lan.*
	laminuŋgu.	ground honey.	Ungr. *laminiŋge.*
(*jäban*).	*laŋanda.*	skin.	Ungr. *laŋandu.*
laŋgur.	*guṇḍuman.*	opossum.	Unggumi *gundumanje*; Gwi:ni *gumaṇ*; Ungr. *laŋgari*, flying squirrel.
larg ŋanman.	*larga ŋanaman.*	I hang it up.	Ungr. *lara aŋiniŋan.*
largade.	*largari.*	baobab.	Unggumi *largari.*
(*lingura*).	*djärbäd.*	crocodile.	Ungr. *djerwad.*

Njigina.	Warwa.	English.	Northern Kimberley Root.
mai.	*mai.*	vegetable food.	N.K. *me:.* Widespread word.
maiaḍa.	*maiaḍa.*	pelican.	N.K. *maiaḍa.*
mälbulu.	*namandi, barawara.*	boat, canoe.	N.K. *namandi*; Worora *barawura.*
manuan.	*manuan.*	species tree.	Ungr. *manawan.*
mar ŋanandin.		I take aim.	Ungr., Unggumi root *mar.*
margaḍu.		younger brother.	Ungr. *margi-ŋi*, my y.B.
miḍin.	*mulä̈l.*	rainbow.	Ungr. *mulä̈l.*
mulä̈l.	*mulä̈l.*	wrong.	Ungr. do., also Garadjeri.
ni-ambala.	*ni-ambala.*	foot.	Ungr. *ambalaru.*
ŋadjag ŋan, ŋaiag ŋan.	*ŋaiaḍ ganaŋgan.*	I ask.	Ungr. *ŋaiaḍ.*
	ŋal ŋindan.	it barks (dog).	Ungr. *ŋal ama.*
ŋamaṇa.	*ŋamaṇa.*	breast, milk.	N.K. *ŋamun.*
(*ŋangu*).	*ganamad.*	shark.	Ungr. *ganamar.*
ŋanman.	*ŋanman.*	I put it.	N.K. (Ungr.) *aŋuman*, root *ma*, I hold, I take.
ŋariba ŋaŋan.		I breathe.	Ungr. *ŋaridj(ba)*, to breathe.
ŋaru.	(*ŋanja*).	like, as.	N.K. descriptive suffix *-ŋari.*
ŋembi.	(*ŋuranjan*).	to-morrow.	Unggumi, Worora, *ŋamba*, bye and bye.
ŋul ŋanman.	*ŋul ŋanaŋgama.*	I strike him.	N.K. root *ŋuḍ.*
(*ŋunde*).	*ŋuru.*	perhaps.	Gwi:ni do.; see also *baṛa.*
rambar.	*rambar.*	wife's father.	N.K. *rambar*, wife's mother.
(*rurb ŋanman*).	*ai ganaŋgan.*	I answer.	Ungr. *ai aŋo:n*, I call him.
ṛabaṛaba.	*ṛabaṛaba.*	quietly.	N.K. *ṛaban*, quiet(ly).
uŋgur.	*uŋgur.*	flowing water.	See in notes above.
wabada.	*wabada.*	water iguana.	Ungr. do.
wali.	*waljawi.*	sole of foot.	Unggumi *wali.*
	wanbare:.	yam.	Gwi:ni, Wunambal do.
wanbin.	*wirimilmil.*	eyebrow.	N.K. do.
wandaŋu.	*ginmara.*	forehead band.	Ungr. *wandagi, ginmara.*
wandji, waŋga.	*wandji.*	bye and bye.	N.K. *waŋgi.*
waŋgaṇa.	(*ŋunbara*), *waŋgede.*	crow.	N.K. root very common elsewhere.
(*galbu djago*).	*waragana.*	eaglehawk.	N.K. *warana.*
warwara ŋan.		I swing my arms in walking.	Ungr. *barbar ŋa.*
wil ŋan.	*wil ŋan.*	I separate.	Gwi:ni *wil ŋaram*, I pull out.
(*wiljwilj ŋan*).	*gul ŋanaŋgan.*	I was hands.	Ungr. *gulei aŋo:n.*
(*windiri*).	*dju:ndan.*	hairbelt.	Guidj *duj:woni.*
(*winrwin*).	*lambara.*	grub, worm.	Ungr. do.

Njigina.	Warwa.	English.	Northern Kimberley Root.
wiri ŋan.	*dewer ŋanaŋgan.*	I twist.	Ungr. *wirinjir aŋo:n, diwad aŋo:n.*
(*galea*).	*bedau.*	a little.	Ungr., Wor. *bedja*, then.
wulaŋgu.		north.	N.K. *wulaŋgu.*
wunaŋal.	*wunaŋal.*	a branch.	Ungr. do.

A study of the above list from the viewpoint of the nature of the words contained would provide much of interest, which cannot be gone into here ; but it definitely shows the spread of N.K. influence—an influence felt all along the south and in the east of the Kimberlies also.

A few texts follow, illustrating both the Njigina language and the mythology.

I. Texts Concerning the Rainbow Snake

Text A

1. *Imana indja maḍuwara ŋana juŋurugu, imbulana gudjara girauwa:mba,*
He-went walking river to Rainbow-snake, he-came two old-men,
Djiriŋ-gin, Waḍawi. 2. *Ginjäbu jirmanamiri jirbulanamiri Largadi ŋana.*
Djiring-gin, Wadawi. Thence the-two-went the-two-came Baobab-tree to.
3. *Guḍ wa:mba jirburana.* 4. *Gandji jirabanamiri mandja.* 5. *Ginjäbu gambi*
Dead men they-buried. Bones they-two-saw many. Thence eggs
jirabururananamiri. 6. *Ginjäbu jirandinamiri.* 7. *Wirba jirandimiri wi:la ŋana.*
they-two-covered-up. Then they-two-got-them. They-two-caught water to.
8. *Jiraŋulaganina ginjai wali Djärängalaŋu.* 9. *Ginjäbu jirandimamiri djuwi.*
They-waited-for that bird Eaglehawk. Thence they-got a-bower-bird.
10. *Jiraŋaganamiri jiraŋulaganina ginjai wali, maṇḍibarina.* 11. *Ḍramḍram*
? They went on they-waited-for that bird, with-boomerang. 11. They-made-a-
jirbändjila wali. 12. *Inamalarindjina Djiriŋgin milimiliäri.* 13. *Ginjäni Waḍawi*
noise-to the-bird. He-promised Djiringgin long-before. That Wadawi
imbara nja. 14. *"Malau gälbudanj njiŋan, ŋaioŋaio ; ŋaio walima ŋaio ? ŋaio*
? looked-at that. Sky-creature you-are, I-too ; I you-give me ? I
ŋaŋanina." 15. *Ginjäbu Waḍawi, " galeau," indina, " jiraŋueaganina galba:bu."*
stay-for-him." Then Wadawi, " All right," he-said, " they-wait-for-him-from-
16. *Ginjäbu wandjäri wa:mba wandjäri djando jirgulamanamiri laŋa*
above." Then one man one woman they-two-sat-down
Largadi. 17. *Ginjäbu galadjirinina njuma.* 18. *Ginjäbu gadadjjirina-namiri*
Baobab-tree. Then they-looked-for eggs. Then they-two-looked-for-him
mälina, wobaḍḍijina nila inmana jirgamiri galŋun gabu. 19. *Ginjäbu gurag jirinamiri*
none, small-one he-showed them-two armpit from. Then they-two-went-on
walidjana. 20. *Ginjäbu giridjan-bulo jiralinamiri ginja Waḍawi.* 21. *Gilai jirinamiri*
bird ? Then screen-under they-two-ate that Wadawi. They-two-chased
njindägu. 22. *Njindanjindabu gilai jirinamiri nindjäbu . . . wagala jiŋana Waḍawi.*
that-way. From-that-way they-two-chased this-way . . . they-got-tired Wadawi.

23. *Waḍawi djälwal wagala ŋaŋan.* 24. *Djurb Djiriŋgun maṇḍi bari.*
Wadawi wife's-uncle got-tired. Jumped Djiringun boomerang having.
25. *Balŋaraŋara därul njimaraŋga.* 26. *Ginjäbu djaniŋgi jani djälwäl,*
Leg broke. Then ? how we-do wife's uncle,
jaŋana baṇu. 27. *Janamara labur jani labun gindjina.* 28. *Ginjäbu*
we-two-go east. We-two-cook pluck feathers his. Then
walamiri wirwin. 29. *Labur jani nja:n.* 30. *Wobaḍidjina walamina däla.*
the-two ? fetched leaves. They-plucked here. Little-one give-him.
31. *Walamina wanigulin baṇu guḍanj.* 32. *Ja:wan walamina, gular walamina, jälmbar*
Give-him murder east at. North give-him, west give-him south
walamina. 33. *Bo: jirinamiri lurumba, jiramanamiri.* 34. *Ja:wan ŋoi indina,*
give-him. They-two-blew the-down, they-two-went. North it-returned,
bo: jirimanamiri baṇu, ŋoi indina, bo: jirinamiri gular, ŋoi indina, bo: jirinamiri
they-two-blew east, it returned, they blew west, it-returned, they blew
jälmban.
south.

Text B

1. *Dämbalguḍanj iwurun wi:la guḍanj bugaragara.* 2. *Winjambo wali.*
Dämbalgudanj it-sprang water having of-old. Curlew bird.
3. *Imana jo:wan, imbulana.* 4. *Inindina madjäla, ŋoi ina ginjäbu.*
He-went north, he-came. He-got madjäla-tree, he-returned thence.
5. *Imbulana Dämbalguḍanj.* 6. *Limarabau ŋahil ingana jo:wan gabu djilo imana*
He-came Dämbalgudanj. Poison he-carried north from he-dropped
waṛanjil ginjainu ingana Dämbalguḍanj. 7. *Julug indinaina wali.* 8. *Mog*
others that-way he-took (to) Dämbalgudanj. He-hit fish. He-struck
indinaina waḷi, warad' indina. 8. *Djandonil gindjina jirandina waḷi.* 9. *Jiramaramarana*
fish, it-came-to-top. Wives his got fish. They-cooked
waḷi. 10. *Ginja djadai iŋana madjäla.* 11. *Madjirbal widid' gaia iŋan.*
fish. He still stayed madjäla-tree. (Fruit) he dug.
11. *Ginjäbu Juŋurugu mo indina.* 12. *Ginjana gandir ingana.* 13. *Baṇu guḍanj*
Then Rainbow-snake moved. Him he-looked-at. East-wards
inmana, gar inana buda, inana gurag indina baṇu. 14. *Djäl inandjina maḍuwara,*
he-went, he-cut-off neck, he-went-on east. He-split river,
indjurbana budur waŕiŋganda Dämbalguḍanj. 15. *Gurag indina baṇu, gau gaia*
he-spelled middle another (at) Dämbalgudanj. He-went-on east, he-called-it.
inana ginja. 16. *Ginjäbu imana baṇu guḍanj.* 17. *Gulugan gabu Landanj gadi,*
Thence he-went east-wards. Gulugan from Landanj to,
gulin jug indin. 18. *ŋoaradjaŋ ŋana imana, Budaŋga ŋana imana.* 19. *Dugu*
he-lay-slept. Ngoaradjan to he-went, Budanga to he-went. a Hole
iŋandjina ŋararigan ŋana gindjina lälŋo. 20. *Budaŋgäbu imana*
he-stayed-at Ngararigan to his tunnel. From-Budanga he-went
Windjimbuguḍanj, jinawirgan. 21. *Ginjäbu imana Nuruŋgu.* 22. *Djumangada*
(to) Windjimbugudanj, tried-depth. Thence he-went Nurunggu, Djumangada
ŋana imana, jug indin. 23. *Gurag ingan Dämbalguḍanj, imana ginjäbu*
to he-went, he-lay-down. He-went-on-to Dämbalgudanj, he-went thence
Bulmandja, djid inman ba:lu, gandjiŋana. 24. *Ginjäbu imana Bula, Lumbu, imana*
Bulmandja, he-put-down tree, lightning. Thence he-went Bula, Lumbu, he-went

ginjäbu Manduŋgälbu, ginjäbu imana Wilaŋgalu, Baḷbaḷgarara. 25. *Djawai inman.*
thence Mandunggälbu, thence he-went Wilanggalu, Balbalgarara. He-swam,
woba muŋgana iŋgulälman. 26. *Baḷbaḷgarara gabu imana Mawaḍa, ginjäbu*
little island he-made. Balbalbagarara from he-went Mawada, thence
gurag ingan Djuŋgungaḍa, buru gindjina. 27. *Djuŋgungaḍäbu gurag ingan*
he-went-on Djunggungada, place his. From-Dunggungada he-went-on
Wurur ŋana, wndjilbi ŋana iŋgulälman lälŋo. 28. *Ginjäbu ŋoi indin Djuŋgungaḍa*
Wurur to, spring to he-made tunnel. Thence he-returned Djunggungada
ŋana. 29. *Ginjäbu Bilmbil, ginjäbu Djäldjäl, ginjäbu Gildjinjuŋu; Gildjinjuŋu gabu*
to. Thence Bilmbil, thence Djäldjäl, thence Gildjinjungu; Gildjungunju from
imana Gändibal. 30. *Birmana rarb indin; ginjäbu imana ŋugidi; ŋugidigabu*
he-went Gändibal. Clean he-made; thence he-went Nnugidi; from-Ngugidi
imana ŋarbalagaḍa, gambi inman. 31. *Ginjäbu imana Mandijaḍa; ginjäbu*
he-went Ngarbalagada, egg she-laid. Thence she-went Mandiyada; thence
Mulur ŋana imana. 32. *Ginjäbu imana Galambaiaḍa.* 33. (*Ginjäbu imandjärin.*)
Mulur to she-went. Thence he-went Galambaiada. (Thence.)
34. *Ginjäbu imandjina ŋuŋu ŋana.* 35. *Waŕan Mulur gabu imana Giliwalguḍanj.*
Thence he-went-on Ngungu to. The other Mulur from went Giliwalgudanj.
36. *Djädbud dabu inman, gulin jug, indin.* 37. *Waŕan Giliwalguḍanj-gabu*
Djädbud water-hole he lay down, slept. The other Giliwalgudanj-from
Banda:bu ŋana imana. 38. *Djawaŕaḍa imana.* 39. *Banda:bu gabu imana*
Banda:bu to went. Djawarada he-went. Banda:bu from she-went
Luŋgaḍa. 40. *Djawaŕaḍa gabu imana Wiḍai.* 41. *Luŋgaḍa gabu imana Biḍibiḍi;*
Lungada. Djawarada from he-went Widai. Lungada from she-went Bidibidi;
ginjäbu Babaguḍanj ŋana imana, ginjäbu imana Lilguḍanj. 42. *Wiḍai gabu*
thence Babagudanj to she-went, thence she-went Lilgudanj. Widai from
imana Baŗawuguban ŋana. 43. *Lilguḍanj gabu imana Njämurban.*
he-went Barawuguban to. Lilgudanj from she-went Njämurban.
44. *Baŕawuguban gabu imana Gurmalaban.* 45. *Njämurban gabu imana Doaria*
Baŕawuguban from he-went Gurmalaban. Njämurban from she-went Doaria
ŋana. 46. *Gurmalaban gabu Djinbiban ŋana imana, gurag ingan Doaria ŋana.*
to. Gurmalaban from Djinbiban to he-went, he-went-on Doaria to.
47. *Ginjäbu gurag ingan Mildjuru ŋana.* 48. *Mildjurabu gurag ingan Maːla.*
Thence he-went-on Mildjuru to. From-Mildjurabu he went Maːla.
48. *Ginjäbu rurb indin Marala ŋana, bälma.* 49. *ŋoi indin Maralabu*
Thence ? he-returned Marala to, fork. He returned from-Marala
gurag ingan Bungu ŋana. 50. *Ginjäbu gurag indin Daŋgu; njaḍan milia iŋan.*
he-went-Bungu to. Thence he-went-on Danggu; here now he-stays.
51. *Luri in djidilara wanaŋaran buru ŋana.*
He-ran-down he put stone place to.

Notes.

This second Rainbow-serpent Text is composite. Sentences 1 to 16 were taken down at Yeeda Station; informants at Noonkanbah, to whom I read that part of the story, said it was incomplete, and proceeded to add the remainder, the interesting part of which is the fact that *Juŋurugu* passes out of even modern Njigina territory into Wolmeri country, and at the end goes into Bunaba country. See the final note on Danggu.

1. The place called Dämbalgudanj is close to the junction of Jugurra Creek and the Fitzroy River, not far from Yeeda Station. This is the starting point of this story. I-*wurun*, " it wells up," of water ; *wi:la-guḍanj*, " having water." 2. *winjambo* is a blackish marsh bird, a variety of curlew. The following sections describe the ordinary native method of poisoning fish, with *limarabau*, obtained from the *madjäla* tree. 11. *Madjirbal* or *magabal*, as also in Jauor, is a variety of ground fruit. Apparently the curlew in digging this disturbed and injured Jungurugu, who therefore moved on. 14. The subject is the Rainbow-serpent, who divided the river at Dämbalgudanj, forming, presumably, the Jugurra Creek and the Fitzroy River. 15. *Gurag*, a common verbal root, indicates continuing a journey, sometimes crossing a river. 16. Note that this journey is from west to east, not, as we usually think of the spread of the Rainbow-serpent myth, from east to west. It looks rather like a local story. Between 16 and 17 there should apparently be a little more told. Noonkanbah informants (who took over at this point) said that at a place called Midjirigan there can be seen the marks of Jungurugu's knees on the hill side. The places between Yeeda and Noonkanbah I was not able to locate at all definitely. 19. Tunnelling by the Rainbow-serpent (and other snakes, e.g. Wandjad in Ungarinyin story) is not uncommon. 23. At Bulmandja he broke down a tree which produces lightning, *gandjiŋana*. 29. The places from this point on were given in terms of white man names also : Gändibal is Watkins Pool, on the Fitzroy. 30. Ngugidi, McDonald Pool ; Ngarbalagada, Pelican Pool. 31. Mandijada, Morris Pool ; Mulur, Lake's Paddock. This is about the point at which the Fitzroy splits, and the Forrest Creek branch separates for some distance. Jungurugu was accompanied by his wife ; she goes now by the short creek, he follows the main river, and the two meet again later. The narrator gives the moves of each alternately, and as there is no grammatical indication of gender in the language, it required considerable care to track each. The following notes are therefore marked (M.) for the make snake's movements and (F.) for those of the female. 32. Galambaiada (M.) on the Fitzroy, Lena Paddock. 34. Ngungu is a round hill. 38. Djawarada located as " Netting Paddock," presumably on Cherubun Station. 42. Barawuguban is also on the Cherubun portion of the Fitzroy. 43. Njämurban (F.) is Jubilee Yard. 44. Gurmalaban is the junction of the Selection River. 47. Mildjuru, Racehorse Crossing (M.) 48. Ma:la was described as the " new bridge," presumably at Fitzroy Crossing itself. Marala is a creek near the Fitzroy Police Station, and this marks the farthest point of Jungurugu's journey, from which he turns back west. Danggu is in Bunaba country and a Bunaba story which I collected at Fitzroy Crossing takes up what seems to be the continuation of this journey. It will be given in full in a later study of Bunaba. Danggu is called by the whites Kicker Gorge, in the Leopold Range.

II. Text Concerning the Gurangura Rites

The *gurangura* ceremonies have been studied by Fr. E. Worms, " Die Gorangora-Feier im Australischen Kimberleys," in *Annali Lateranensi*, Vol. VI, 1942. He gives no origin myth as regards them, however, but considers that the term *gurangura* (in his spelling *gorangada*) means " phallus." This is borne out by the text. The cult, he states, has been brought from the central and western deserts, reaching Broome just before the arrival of the white man. He defines the *gurangura* as " the collective name for the numerous and manifold kinds of positive and negative, beneficial and injurious, white and black magic." It is associated with a group of spirits or demons known as Djänba, which he equates with Djangala.[23] This is

[23] See E. Worms in *Annali Lateranensi*, Vol. IV, p. 219.

especially the form taken by the cult in the Northern Kimberleys, into which it has penetrated in recent years. These Kimberley rites are the subject of an article by H. Petri, " Kuràngura," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1950, and one by A. Lommel, " Modern Culture Influences on the Aborigines," *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 1. Reference should also be made to a critique of the last by R. M. Berndt in *Oceania*, Vol. XXI, No. 1. The essential outward symbols of the cult are a group of *tjuringa*-like boards, one of which is called *gundji*. The rites are essentially sexual in character, though women do not take part. The short myth here shows the meaning of the *gundji* boards, which symbolize the *gundji*, vulva, of the woman. The term is Njigina, and was heard by the writer in the Northern Kimberleys as *gundju*. The *gundji* is therefore the essential complement of the *gurangura*. See A. Capell, " Mythology in the Northern Kimberley," *Oceania*, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 396-7, on the Djänba cult as found there and the *gundju*.

The text is brief, and was collected at Noonkanbah Station, in the south-eastern part of the Njigina territory, or the part that is Njigina by default. It is probably to be regarded as a local story, since no place of origin is mentioned. Nor is there any mention of a Djänba spirit, unless the " man " is to be taken as such. The woman part is of interest in view of the fact that the modern rite is completely esoteric and forbidden to women, and as both Worms and Petri show, requires a certain stage of initiation even for men.

1. *Gu'raŋara imana djando.* 2. *Imana ṙabṙaba maḍuwara.* 3. *Imana*
Gurangura she-went woman. She-went leisurely river. She-went
gulini ŋana ṙambalan. 4. *Ginjäbu wa:mba imana baibara, imburanala inaina*
sleep to on-sand. Then man went after, he-came-along ? he-saw
djando. 5. *Indjäbäna, " jäŋgi djowa ? "* 6. *Inaina indjäbäna " ŋaio djando."*
woman. He-asked, " What you ? " She-answered, " I woman."
7. *Ginja wa:mba indjäbäna, " Jäŋgi nja ? "* 8. *" ŋamana," indina.* 9. *" A:! jäŋgi*
The man asked, " What that ? " " Breast," she-said. " Ah ! What
djowa ? " indinaina. 10. *Ginjäni djando rurb, " Malo ŋaio wa:mba."* 11. *Djando*
you ? " he-said-to-her. The woman replied, " Not I man." Woman
wadji iana. 12. *Djandoni indjäbäna wa:mba, " Malo gundji ŋambugan." Njuna jaŋama*
afraid was. Woman said-to man, " Not vulva I-have." Now-let-us-go
bawuna." 13. *Ginjäbu indjäbäna wa:mbani, " Jaŋani."* 14. *Djandoni*
away-thither." Then said man, " Let-us-do-business." Woman
baḽŋandjina wagald' iŋana, gundji inalira wa:mbani. 15. *Djäbid' inalira, baŋgul imana.*
legs-her spread-out, vulva saw man. He-pretended, urine he-did.
16. *Inbana gilba gaia.* 17. *Maŋan walbur imana minan.*
He-saw excreting. Vagina penis he-put.

Translation.

A woman went (for) *gurangura*. She went leisurely, to the river. She went to sleep on the sand. A man went after, he came along and saw the woman. He asked her, " What are you ? " She answered, " I'm a woman." The man asked, " What's this ? " " My breast," she said. " Ah ! What are you ? " he said to her. The woman replied, " I'm not a man." The woman was afraid. She said to the man, " I have no vulva. Let's go over here now." The man said, " Let us get busy." The woman spread her legs, the man saw her vulva. She pretended to urinate. He saw (her) excreting. He had connection with her.

The remaining three texts are added as examples of the Njigina language. I was not able to get the mythological settings of them.

III. Text Concerning Djiligi

1. *Gilala inmadälin.* 2. *ŋunidjina galbuna, ŋadag jirana,* 3. *" Malo,"*
Tobacco he-planted. Nose-his up, they asked. " No,"
inmanaira, woba inminaira. 4. *" Njäḍan ŋunde njimbugan," gilji-gilji jirin,*
he-told-them, little he-gave-them. " There perhaps you-have," they-tickled him,
gurbug indin gilala. 5. *Jirbilmanŋan' gäb jirin mandjani wa:mba.*
he-vomited tobacco. They-took-it from-him they-ate plenty men.
6. *Njäḍanbe minmadälina jarga.* 7. *Jirandin jirabärinŋan' wanaŋari.*
There you-planted (for) us. They-took they-threw-it (on to) stone.
8. *Imbulan waḷi ian wa:mba junu, gunag imbandji waḷi. Djiligi buṙul.*
He came bird was man from, turned-into bird. Djiligi frogmouth.

IV. Text Concerning Djuguranu

1. *Nangula dja:wi indin, däb inandin Lo:man.*[24] 2. *Dja:wi indin muŋu buṙu.*
Beehive hummed, climbed-up to-Lo:man. It hummed deep place.
3. *Biḍ indin, jur iman.* 4. *Babanil lagar jirin wanaŋari jiriŋaran.*
She-got-tired, drowned. Children climbed stone (and) remained.

V. Text Concerning the Python and the Barramundi

1. *Ma:laŋgar imbulan, waldja inbana.* 2. *Ginjäni waldja indina,*
Python came, barramundi he-saw. The barramundi said,
" jaŋama, mambaḍu jaijo." 3. *Galea go:nia inbana.* 4. *Go:nia jiredjibanmiri,*
" Let-us-go brothers we-two." Then crocodile he-saw. Crocodile they-two-asked,
" jäŋgi djowa? " 5. *" Malo; ŋaio buruŋu."* 6. *Wulu imbulan.* 7. *Waldjani*
" Who you? " " No; I Burong." Rain comes. Barramundri
indindjina Ma:laŋgardji, " Wulu imbulan; njäḍu buruŋu." 8. *Go:nia jingandjiramiri,*
said-to Python, " Rain comes; here Burong." Crocodile carried-them-
" Njäḍu djälwal ŋadjanu; gudjuŋguramiri gaga." *Baruluni imbugan ŋulumba*
two, " Here wife's-uncle my; your-two uncle." Catfish had-got first
wiridanin. 9. *" Njaḍu wa:ŋo; malo waṙan' gwi:ja jarandinmiri."* 10. *Go:nia*
sword-fish. " Here wife; not another mother we two get. Crocodile
indin, " ŋanga mambaḍu ŋadjanu, naj: baba inandin ŋanguni." 11. *Inmindjina*
said, " Talk brother my, this girl has got shark." He-give-him
bäljäri wa:mba, jirandinjiramiri go:nia, malwan' gudjara, jäb jirmanmiri maluḍu.
Paldjeri man, they-two-got crocodile, turtles two, they-two-went to-get-man.
12. *ŋoi jirinmiri moguḍan jirbulanmiri.* 13. *Waluŋari jirabun*
They-two-came-back in-a-mob they-two-came. Corroboree they-sang
budji jiraman, wa:mba ilŋaranmiri. 14. *Dugu inman wanaŋari, djurb indin*
they-finished, man they-two-were. Hole he-made stone, he-jumped
welan go:nia. 15. *Djanamara gudiji inandin?* 16. *Jirababandjina.*
in-water crocodile. Which-way he-went-off? They-kept-looking-for-him.

[24] *Loman* is the realm of the dead.

17. *Malo, jiraban bug gaia.*
No, they-saw (him) floating.

18. *Malo, go:nia.*
No, crocodile.

19. *Wambur wayani?*
Will he leave?

20. *Malo, gaḍu welan iyan.*
No, there in-water he-is.

21. *Balgar gaḍu janarandi.*
Miss there we-may.

These shorter texts are added by way of illustrating the language rather than the mythology, for which reference should be made to the listed articles by Fr. Worms. At the time it was not possible to remain amongst the people long enough to make a more detailed study.

A. Capell.

OBITUARY

DANIEL SUTHERLAND DAVIDSON

The late Professor Davidson graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, where he went on to gain his Doctorate in 1928. His career included various teaching posts, as instructor, assistant and associate professor, at the Universities of Pennsylvania, Buffalo and Oregon, lecturer at the Bryn Mawr College, and finally Professor of Anthropology at the University of Washington during the past few years. Apart from his teaching and research, his interest in anthropology was also exemplified in various executive positions in scientific societies, such as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Folk-Lore Society, Secretary and President of the Anthropological Society of Philadelphia, of which he was one of the founders, and Editor of the News Bulletin of the American Anthropological Association.

Professor Davidson carried out field research among the northern Algonkian Indians between 1923 and 1925, and in Australia during 1930 and 1931. During the latter period he examined in detail the various State museum collections as a basis for his systematic work, visited numerous sites of rock engravings and paintings in Western and north Australia, and carried out archæological studies among the Wardaman tribe in the Northern Territory. His contributions to the study of Australian archæology and ethnography introduced a new approach to this field of study, that of geographical distribution or the age and area theory, to the tenets of which school he adhered most closely. His papers form an extremely valuable series, featured by splendid distribution maps which are the first and only maps compiled for many traits, and notable for the concise manner in which he presented the data upon which his work was based. Among his papers the two memoirs on the pictographic and decorative art of Australia are notable contributions, and all of the others constitute permanent reference papers for source material as many of them are continental in scope. Many of his conclusions and interpretations are, unfortunately, founded on insufficient evidence, others are premature, chiefly because similar detailed distributional studies are not available on Melanesian material culture, and by reason of the fact that the most complete data and knowledge are essential if the geographical distribution approach is to be employed successfully as an analysis of culture. Davidson, however, established convincingly in his many papers the important part that diffusion from Melanesia, and to a lesser degree from Indonesia, has played in the gradual enrichment of Australian Aboriginal culture, and his studies have contributed tremendously to our knowledge of this subject in general. The wide scope of his work on Australia, which would no doubt have been extended considerably but for his untimely death, is well illustrated by the list of his worksgiven on pages 470 and 471.

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F. D. McCarthy.

REVIEWS

Social Anthropology in Melanesia : A Review of Research. *By A. P. Elkin, M.A., Ph.D. XIV, 166 pp., maps. O.U.P., Melbourne 1953. Australian retail price 27/6.*

This book was published under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission. It is important that this should be made clear at the beginning of this review because the latter organization was not only responsible for the publication of the book but actually fathered the project upon which it is based.

One of the principal functions of the Commission is to promote and as far as possible co-ordinate all activities concerned with the social development of the native inhabitants of the South Pacific region. It goes without saying that adequate knowledge of their culture is a necessary preliminary to any efforts on the part of the various Administrations towards improving their social background. It also goes without saying that the social anthropologist is the best person to supply that knowledge. The Commission recognizes this and believes that as a first step, each of its Member States should undertake anthropological research where such research is required.

Of course, before you can set the limits of your ignorance you need to know the extent of your knowledge. It seems incredible that no one had realized this or, if they had, had done anything about it until the Commission invited Professor Elkin to make a survey of Melanesian social anthropology in 1950. Put briefly, the purpose of the survey was (*a*) to evaluate the different types of information available, (*b*) to survey our present knowledge of the whole region, indicating the significant gaps and suggesting problems and projects, and (*c*) to provide the principles of a plan of research.

The book is planned in this way, and Part I reviews the various types of ethnographical record available up to 1950. It is a very brief review and, from the point of view of a student of Melanesian culture confronted with the thousands of books and articles available on the subject, a most encouraging review. Using this part of the book as a guide, no student should henceforth be able to claim that he cannot keep up with the literature of his subject. The Professor has been ruthless in his selection of what he considers to be of value in giving us a true picture of the culture.

The second and main part of the book deals with what has been recorded about the living cultures of the Melanesian region. " Our concern is not with anthropological archives but with peoples in a process of change, the end or final direction of which we cannot be sure." When one considers that the areas surveyed in this part comprise Netherlands New Guinea, Territory of Papua, the Trust Territory of New Guinea, the British Solomons Islands Protectorate, the New Hebrides Condominium and New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, one must admire, at least, the application of the author and perhaps his daring in attempting

such a task. To be able to evaluate the literature covering such a vast area is itself a formidable task, but Professor Elkin has done much more than this. He has made positive suggestions of a valuable and practical character right throughout this part of the book. I have room here to mention but two of these. Perhaps the Professor would not classify them as among the more important of his suggestions, but to me they need emphasizing in any future plans for research into Melanesian culture. The first has to do with the part played by women in moulding the culture. Of this aspect, the author has to say : " So far, in the islands, not nearly enough work has been done with the women concerning their side of life, both intimate and less private ; but without their co-operation we cannot obtain full understanding." The second has to do with language and its role in unlocking the way into the life of these people. " Linguistics and anthropology should work together both in academic institutions and in the field."

In the third and final part of the book, the author sets out the principles to be followed in preparing a plan of research into the social anthropology of Melanesia. He divides the types of research needed into those covering New Districts, those of the Delayed-Return variety, those covering Critical Regions faced with imminent sociological problems arising out of contact, those related to Culture-Change Regions where the Administration is consciously making an effort to change the way of life of the people and where no previous anthropological work has been done and finally those concerned with Broken-Down Cultures and Depopulation.

The chief impression left with one after reading this book is the comparatively meagre amount of worthwhile information available to us concerning Melanesian culture. Right throughout the book, one constantly comes across such phrases as " Practically no research has been done here "—" Malekula is the best known anthropological area of the New Hebrides, but much remains to be done "—" Considering the number of islands in the Protectorate and the long period of continuous European contact, comparatively little anthropological research has been done." With the publication of this book there need no longer be any excuse for not knowing what needs to be done to complete the record.

" The Elkin Survey," as the book will undoubtedly come to be called, will become an essential tool in the equipment of all research workers interested in Melanesia. There is no jargon in this book. The facts have been dealt with in a plain and straightforward fashion and advice has been given liberally and against a background of over twenty years close contact with the problems of anthropological research in the area. If there is one thing missing from this publication, it is an appendix consisting of a number of maps. Adequate graphic representation of our ignorance and our knowledge in the form of a series of maps would add greatly to the value of the work.

F. L. S. Bell.

De Bergpapoea's Van Nieuw-Guinea En Hun Woongebied. *By C. C. F. M. Le Roux Three Volumes. Vol. I* (1948), *Vol. II* (1950), *Vol. III* (1950). *Leiden* (*E. J. Brill*).

The author of this monumental work on the mountain tribes of Dutch New Guinea died in September, 1947, just about a year before the first volume was completed. After his retirement from the directorate of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde at Leiden, Dr. Le Roux had been able to concentrate on the preparation of this standard work, and it is to be regretted that he did not live to see it in print. The first volume (XXV and 484 pp., 48 plates, 9 text-figures) begins with a survey of exploration in the area, including not less

than forty-four larger and smaller expeditions, from the H. A. Lorentz Expedition, 1909-1910, onwards to the expedition of Dr. J. V. De Bruijn, 1941. Then follows the topography and geography (Chapters II and III, pp. 19-82), accompanied by a series of excellent illustrations, including aerial photographs, showing the alpine grandeur of the scenery but also the roughness of the country and extreme difficulty of land travel. The second section is devoted to Ethnography, particularly the material culture of the Mountain Papuans (Chapters IV-XIII, pp. 83-484). Before the arrival of the H. A. Lorentz Expedition, the natives had never seen a white man ; but the news of the existence of the whites then spread rapidly. The ethnographical section includes chapters on clothing, hair-dress and ornaments ; settlements and dwellings ; the mode of life, with description of the fire-making method, food preparation ; stimulants ; agriculture, hunting-methods ; trade and inter-tribal commerce ; special chapters deal with basketwork (XI), tools and other implements (XII), and weapons (XIII). These technological chapters are illustrated, but the greater part of the illustrations appears in Vol. III. The atlas (41×34 cm.), with its 118 plates (some in colour) and three maps. Vol. II (X and pp. 485-1029, 35 plates, 3 text-figures and a genealogical table) deals with the " spiritual culture " (" Geestelijke Cultuur "), but it turns out that, under this heading, everything that has not been dealt with in Vol. I is included, viz. general description of the ethnic character and intellectual capacity ; counting, numeral system, sense of colour, sign-language, etc. Decorative art, which is entirely graphic (crude little figures made from vegetable fibre for magical purposes (Fig. 65, p. 565) seem to be the only plastic effort), dance and music follow immediately (pp. 554 ff.).

Of the other chapters we mention that on religion and magic (XVIII, pp. 606-641) and on social life and social organization (XIX, pp. 642-678). The second volume is enriched by two annexes, viz. a chapter by C. M. de Sitter-Koomans on the petrographic examination of the stone implements of New Guinea and, on the other hand, a treatise by J. Kunst on the native music (pp. 921-996), with many examples and numerous illustrations of musical instruments. This important chapter has a geographical subdivision (music of the central highlands, pp. 929 ff., the south-west coast, pp. 939 ff., the western part of the Vogelkop, pp. 941 f., and Waigéo, pp. 942 ff.

Of particular interest are two illustrations, viz. No. 117, showing two two-pronged " dancing-spears " with a shield-like ornament carved in open work, the shaft forming the central rib, and No. 118, " dancing-staves." Three of these—(*a*), (*b*) and (*c*)—from Japèn and Humboldt Bay respectively, are each decorated with a human statuette at the top, not just an extension of the staff and a primitive pole sculpture, but a real sculpture in the round (two males, the third apparently a female). The second volume also has the bibliography (205 titles) and the indices of authors and things. The technological chapter XII in Vol. I is not confined to Dutch New Guinea, but is a comparative treatise on the stone implements of the whole island. Dr. Le Roux distinguishes six axe, or adze, types (Fig. 8, *a-f*, p. 416). Of special interest are type (*c*), elliptical vertical cross-section with oblique lateral flanks, and type (*d*), the same with vertical flanks. This is the type represented by the Mount Hagen axe, and Dr. Le Roux thought that both (*c*) and (*d*) were produced by removing the sides of an original piece with elliptical vertical cross-section. This method of producing a " rectangular " axe, or adze, then, would be genetically absolutely different from, say, a Western Polynesian (Maori) adze blade produced by sawing a slab of stone. What actually happened obviously depended upon the nature and structure of the raw material : a rounded, or oval, waterworn pebble offered in itself an implement with an elliptical cross-section. If it was

found that angular lateral edges provided a firmer grip for the hafting material, Dr. Le Roux's theory would be sound enough. However, there is still the possibility that angular (vertical) lateral trimming was introduced under influence from an area with quadrangular blades. At any rate, we know now that quadrangular adze blades occur in the eastern central highlands of New Guinea, where they were discovered by R. and C. Berndt in 1950-51, and a small variety of the Mount Hagen axe, the "'Minor Mount Hagen axe," is used in the same area, too. It is, therefore, becoming more and more difficult to deny any cultural connections between Polynesia and northern and eastern New Guinea. These facts were not yet available at the time of the publication of Le Roux's work. Therefore, the otherwise beautiful " Kaart van de Bijl-Typen in Nieuw-Guinea " (map No. III attached to the atlas) is no longer up to date. This map shows for the whole area east of Mt. Hagen only types of the coastal areas, for the simple reason that, up to the present—more precisely prior to the field work of R. and C. Berndt—the technology of the inland tribes east of, roughly, 145° E. long., was, to put it mildly, incompletely known. This was especially true of the axe, or adze types, a feature of such a great importance not only technologically but also archæologically. Even now it is still too early to draw up a really comprehensive survey, and maps should, for the time being, be regarded as merely sketches. Dr. Le Roux's standard work is not enhanced by his technological treatise on the axes, or adzes, of New Guinea as a whole, which would have been presented with advantage in the form of a separate monograph. The merit of these three volumes, then, lies in the detailed description and brilliant illustration of the country, the natives and native culture of the highlands in the interior of Dutch New Guinea.

An important section of Vol. II is devoted to Linguistics (pp. 776-807). There is a list of twenty authors who published vocabularies of individual tribes, or tribal groups (pp. 777 f.) ; on p. 808 we find a useful map of the various linguistic groups of western central New Guinea. This is followed by comparative vocabularies and collections of vernacular phrases in some of the languages. The atlas (Vol. III) is equally excellent in three spheres : topography, physical anthropology, and ethnography. The whole work, then, is a scientific source of the first order, and no larger public library, no department or institute of anthropology can afford not to have these three volumes on its shelves.

L. Adam.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, 1952. *Summary of the report delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society, Tuesday, 25th November,* 1952.

Council has pleasure in submitting to members the twenty-fourth Annual Report for the year ended 30th September, 1952.

Total membership is now 145, comprising one benefactor, five life members, six honorary life members and 133 ordinary members.

During the year 15 new members were elected : Mr. R. J. Dougherty, Mr. N. J. B. Plomley, Mr. R. A. Kirkwood, Mrs. B. Amey, Mrs. L. Scot-Skirving, Miss A. Scot-Skirving, Mr. R. H. Cox, Rev. William Clint, Mrs. N. Maclean, Miss A. Neil, Mr. H. Cocks, Rev. Father Laufer, Mr. R. S. Plater, Mr. Colin Simpson and Mr. A. C. Strehlen. We regret to announce the death of two distinguished members : Professor Sir Peter H. Buck, Director

of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, an Honorary Life Member, and Mr. A. L. Meston, of Tasmania. Two members resigned during the year.

Six general meetings were held at the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, at which the following lectures were delivered:

1951:

October 9th.—"The Colonization of the Phoenix Islands," by H. E. Maude, O.B.E., M.B.E., M.A. (Cantab.).

November 27th.—Annual General Meeting, Presidential Address: "The Cohuna Skull," by N. W. G. Macintosh, M.B., B.S., Dip.Anthr.

1952:

March 4th.—A screening of colour sound films through the courtesy of the N.S.W. Documentary Films Council.

May 27th.—"George Augustus Robinson and the Tasmanian Aborigines," by N. J. B. Plomley, M.Sc.

July 29th.—"Kog'u—A New Guinea Highland Village," by Mrs. Catherine Berndt, M.A.

September 30th.—A recital of recordings of Aboriginal Music, presented by Professor A. P. Elkin, M.A., Ph.D.

Eight Council meetings were held during the year. Several members of Council carried out field work in Australia and New Guinea during 1952. In January Dr. Capell worked in the Purari Delta region, New Ireland and New Britain. In May and June Professor Elkin, with Dr. Macintosh and Dr. Capell, made a further expedition into Arnhem Land.

At the beginning of the year the Council of Management of the Australian Anthropological Association for the current biennial term was transferred from the Queensland Society to N.S.W. In August a conference of delegates from the State Societies was held. Ten delegates representing all the affiliated societies attended the conference, which was presided over by the N.S.W. President, Dr. Macintosh. Mr. W. J. Phillips, of the Dominion Museum, Wellington, N.Z., was present as an observer at the invitation of the Chairman. Several motions were submitted for discussion and resolutions passed, which are now under consideration by the Councils of the affiliated Societies. Among the recommendations made were (1) that the Commonwealth Government be asked to obtain, for preservation in Australia, representative collections of the specimens of the material culture of the peoples of Australia and her territories; (2) that a letter be forwarded to the governments of all the States in the Commonwealth stressing the need for preserving the aboriginal relics within their boundaries; and (3) that steps be taken to explore the possibilities of establishing an anthropological society in Canberra. When the decisions of the affiliated societies on these and other recommendations are made known to the Council of the Australian Anthropological Association appropriate action will be taken.

Prior to the opening of the Science Congress held in Sydney in August, the Council of A.A.A. posted over 300 circulars to its members, publicizing the programme arranged for the Anthropology Section. The Society's two delegates to the Council of the A.N.Z.A.A.Sc. were the President, Dr. Macintosh, and Mr. McCarthy.

The Society's annual prize this year was awarded to Mr. Mervyn Meggitt.

Council is pleased to report some progress in the consideration by the N.S.W. Government of the draft of the Aboriginal Relics Protection Bill. Recent correspondence indicates a

likelihood of the bill being brought before Parliament shortly, and if this is so we are hopeful that it will be favourably received.

Council extends its thanks to Professor Elkin for the use of his own and the Department's rooms for our meetings. We also wish to convey our thanks to our Honorary Auditor, Mr. D. R. Wylie, for his work on the balance sheet and his audit of the Society's books.

In review, the Society's past year has been a full and satisfying one. The lecture programme was of a distinctly high order, and included presentation of original material not previously published. Attendances at the lectures were greater than last year, and averaged 36. Our total membership increased by 10, and we have hopes of maintaining this evidence of growing interest in the Society and its objects, which, after all, is the yard-stick of any society's success and its hope for the future.

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of Queensland, 1952. *Summary of the report delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society, 3rd October, 1952.*

The Council has pleasure in submitting to members the fourth Annual Report of the Society for the year ended 30th September, 1952.

This year has not been such a busy year as last year. The A.N.Z.A.A.S. conference somewhat disrupted our meetings during the latter part of the year, and Council felt it better not to hold a meeting during August, 1952, because of the Science Conference being held in Sydney. Delegates were appointed to the meeting in the persons of our President, Mr. G. Mack, and Dr. L. P. Winterbotham.

During the year the following meetings were held :

1951 :

November.—Members' Exhibit Evening.

1952 :

March.—" Migration Possibilities of the Prehistoric Australian," by F. W. Whitehouse.
April.—" The Refugee as an Anthropological Problem." by Sir Raphael Cilento.
June.—" Cargo Cults," by Miss Joan Stevens.
July.—Note and Exhibits Evening.
September.—" The Peoples of Ceylon," by R. Seevaratnum.
Average attendance at meetings has been 24.

No official excursions were made during the year, but several members visited areas of interest and reported on them at the meetings. During a F.N.C. camp-out at Camp Mountain, the opportunity was taken of investigating again the well-known Samford Bora Ring, and the party was in agreement as to the suggested site of the smaller ring. Another ring in the immediate vicinity was rediscovered and full measurements taken.

At the meetings, on several occasions, recent additions to the collections of the Ethnological Museum at the University were shown, and it can be stated that this collection now contains a number of items of great variety and importance. As building operations permit, further glass cases will be installed in the space allocated for the museum and additional specimens put on display.

During the year additions were made to the Society's library, and arrangements have been made for a suitable bookcase to be placed in the museum when occasion permits.

It will be noted that a précis of the addresses and minutes of meetings are now sent to all members, and it is hoped increased interest in the Society will be induced by this means.

During the year the Society lost by death two members in Mr. Thomas Jack and Mr. G. O'Neill, and we record our sorrow and loss. The membership stands at 65, thus being an increase of three on the figures of the last year.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS

The Aborigine and British Justice.

Sir,

In the State of South Australia, the Chief Protector of Aborigines scrutinizes very closely all court cases affecting natives and, when necessary and possible, attends the court personally in their interests. The Judges of the Supreme Court and magistrates welcome his attendance and consult him and, almost invariably, accept his recommendations. At my request, Mr. W. R. Penhall, the then Chief Protector, has given me a copy of the " brief " he prepared for a recent case of a trial of a native for murder. This seems to me worthy of publication as an example of the care taken in South Australia to see that no injustice is done in our courts of law to any Aborigine. I append a copy herewith.

J. B. CLELAND.

The University,
Adelaide.

" If your Honour pleases, I have a duty to the defendant, Eringa Peter, in this case and also to the deceased and all Aborigines in the State of South Australia.

" In cases of this character, it is customary for me to ascertain and present the facts to the Court, relating them as far as possible to tribal customs and practices and thereby endeavouring to establish the degree of guilt, to enable the Court to determine an appropriate penalty.

" In this case the deceased, Tommy Ridge, held a vital position in his tribe and his obligations when challenged by the defendant to fight could not be disregarded if he was to maintain his place in the local organization. Therefore, in defence of his position, apparently he prepared to defend himself against any action that may have been impending on the part of the defendant. To do so, when threatened, he went to his camp and secured a weapon which was partly a waddy and partly a boomerang.

" In the normal course of tribal encounters, honour is usually satisfied when a spear is thrown or thrust into the thigh or calf of the leg of an opponent. In this case the deceased had no spears and this probably had considerable bearing on the result of the encounter. The weapon procured by the deceased is used sometimes in cases involving close combat, whereas a spear in expert hands could be thrown effectively from a distance. If deceased had possessed spears a fatal ending to the quarrel might have been avoided.

" It appears that the defendant, under the influence of liquor, revived a long-standing feud with the deceased and his visit to his own camp to secure spears and the tomahawk seems to have been with the fixed intention of attacking the deceased. The evidence shows that a native, believed to have been the deceased, attempted to take the spears from Peter, possibly with the intention of disarming him, and when the attempt was not successful he returned to his own camp. In his statement to the police the defendant admitted having collected the spears and also the tomahawk with which to fight the deceased, whom, he said, he had fought with previously at Port Augusta and who had injured his head with a waddy.

" He stated, ' When Tom Ridge saw me coming, he walked away from the mulga tree and I said to him, " Do you want to fight me now ? " and he said " No." I wanted to spear his leg. I saw Tom come back from the camp a little later with a big boomerang and he said to me, " Stop there or I will hit you with the boomerang." I got up with the spears then to poke him through the leg. Tom just then hit me on the arm and broke my spears. He hit me three or four times.' When questioned by the police as to what he did when the spears were broken the defendant said, ' I took the tomahawk out.' He also stated in reply to a question that he hit Tom Ridge with the tomahawk on the back of the head. The use of such a lethal weapon as an axe is unusual in tribal encounters and in using it Peter violated tribal practices. That is all I wish to say against the defendant.

" There are, however, certain submissions I think should be made in mitigation.

" Firstly, the defendant may have used the tomahawk in the belief that as his spears were broken the deceased would have killed him if he had been able to re-possess the boomerang (which he dropped in the fight) and there is the possibility that the defendant would regard this act as a measure of self-defence. He could have thrown the spear before Tommy got close enough to use the boomerang.

" Secondly, the defendant and probably most of the others present on the fatal occasion were under the influence of liquor procured for them by a man who should have known better. While his indulgence in liquor is not excused, it certainly did deprive defendant of that measure of self discipline usually found in tribal natives.

" Thirdly, the conduct of Aborigines generally cannot safely be measured with the yard stick employed when dealing with offences committed by white people because of the essential difference in character and nature of the two races.

" Finally, I suggest there is nothing like the same degree of inhibition in the conduct of inferior types of Aborigines such as the defendant as there is in the average white person, that is to say that a really good type of Aborigine excels in self-discipline, whereas an inferior type is usually very much inferior and consequently less capable of proper behaviour.

" Aborigines in contact with the white race who take human life, knowing it to be wrong, cannot be pardoned merely because they are Aborigines. There is no doubt that the deceased died by the hand of the defendant and that the defendant must be punished for the crime. With your permission, Sir, I would like to make certain submissions regarding the sentence to be imposed.

" 1. Tribal or nomadic Aborigines cannot endure the thought of restricted liberty for a long period. The last full-blood sentenced in this Court to a term of imprisonment for two and a half years committed suicide by hanging in the Yatala Labour Prison soon after admission to that institution.

" 2. It is not desirable that defendant remain away from his people and his home district for a long period. Experience has shown that the process of detribalization, in this case already commenced, is unduly hastened by a long absence from home and in such case the prisoner almost inevitably becomes derelict.

" 3. He also suffered a broken arm in the fight.

" Having regard to all the circumstances of the case, I suggest for your consideration a sentence of not less than six months nor more than one year, the sentence to be served at the Port Augusta Gaol. It is not desirable that defendant should be brought into contact with hardened criminals."

Circuit Court,

Port Augusta,
17.3.53.

The Anthropological Society of Victoria

(Founded 1932)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1952-1953.

President : Mr. D. J. Tugby, B.Sc.

Vice-Presidents : Mr. C. A. S. Mansbridge, B.A., F.R.G.S., Mr. H. R. Balfour.

Council :

Dr. Alan Griffiths, M.B., B.S., Col. Neil MacArthur, E.D., J.P., Mr. S. R. Mitchell, M.Aust.I.M.M., Rev. D. Rettick, Mr. H. C. Stewart.

Hon. Secretary : Mr. R. C. Seeger, 56 Jenkins St., Northcote, N.16.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. H. R. Hammet.

Hon. Asst. Treasurer : Miss L. Young, 13 Chastleton Ave., Toorak, S.E.2.

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Hon. Auditor : Mr. E. E. Lord.

Meetings are held in the B.M.A. Hall, Albert Street, Melbourne on Wednesday evenings as advertised at 8 p.m., at regular intervals.

The Anthropological Society of Queensland

(Founded 1948)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1952-1953.

President : Mr. G. Mack.

Vice-Presidents : Professor H. J. Wilkinson, Dr. L. P. Winterbotham, M.B., B.S. (Melb.).

Council :

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The Australian Anthropological Association

Members:

Anthropological Society of New South Wales.
Anthropological Society of South Australia.
Anthropological Society of Victoria.
Anthropological Society of Queensland.

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1952-1953.

President: Dr. A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Gwen Bell, 164 Prince's Highway, Arncliffe.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. F. D. McCarthy.

OBJECTS.

(*a*) To promote the science of Anthropology.
(*b*) To hold biennial conferences of delegates from affiliated societies to deal with matters affecting affiliated societies generally, or the science of anthropology.
(*c*) To take public and official action in the interests of anthropology, as may be deemed desirable.
(*d*) To encourage affiliated societies to co-operate in every possible way.

The Anthropological Society of N.S.W. as such is not responsible for any opinion or declaration published in this magazine, by whomsoever expressed, unless specifically stated to be so by the Editor.

All communications, MSS., and proposed advertisements to be addressed to Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A., Editor, City of Sydney Public Library, George Street, Sydney.

Persons interested in the work of the Society please address correspondence to the Hon. Secretary.